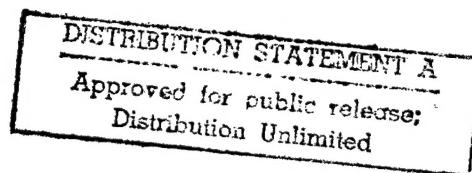


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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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25 July 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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BULGARIA

ADMISSION REQUIREMENTS TO MILITARY CONSTRUCTION ACADEMY

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 5 Jun 84 p 2

[Announcement on the Procedure and Conditions Whereby Officer Candidates are Admitted to the General Bl. Ivanov VNVSU in Sofia During the 1984-1985 Academic Year]

[Text] A. Regular Instruction

The General Blagoy Ivanov Higher People's Military Construction School [VNVSU] in Sukhodol, Sofia, trains officer personnel for engineer command positions for the requirements of the Construction Troops with a period of instruction of 5 years.

Those who have successfully completed the school receive a diploma for a higher education of the established form and a military qualification of "Military Engineer for Industrial and Civil Construction" and the civilian qualification "Construction Engineer for Industrial and Civil Construction."

The officer candidates who have completed the regular course, after the receiving of their diploma, are given the military rank of lieutenant.

Young men applying for officer candidate positions must meet the following conditions:

Be Bulgarian citizens; have a complete secondary education and exemplary conduct with a minimum number of points of 12.00 formed from the overall grade on the diploma and the grades in mathematics and physics; be dedicated to military service; be active members of the Komsomol; be physically healthy; be under the age of 23 (by 1 September 1984); not be married; have no previous convictions or be under indictment or investigation; have a recommendation from the unit commander (for persons in regular military service).

Preinductees applying for officer candidate places submit through the chiefs of the military districts (where they are registered) to the chief of the school the following documents: an application, an autobiography (according to the standard model), a diploma showing a complete secondary education or a copy of it, a birth certificate, a certificate showing no criminal record, a pedagogical recommendation, a declaration that they will serve at least 10 years as officers and any document showing a right to preferential admission.

Regular servicemen applying for officer candidate positions submit the stated documents through the unit commanders.

The date for submitting the documents by preinductees to the military districts is before 15 July 1984, while regular servicemen and those who have completed service prior to 1984 submit their documents before 4 June 1984.

Each applicant for an officer candidate position is required to take a compulsory examination at the school. The results of competitive exams in other higher military and civilian institutions of learning are not considered in the ranking.

The applicants are to take a written exam in the following:

- a) Mathematics on 11 August 1984;
- b) Social sciences on 12 August 1984;
- c) All applicants for officer candidate positions are to undergo physical, psychophysiological and medical exams on 13, 14 and 15 August 1984.

The applicants are obliged to report on 10 August 1984 at 1400 hours at the school for receiving instructions on taking the exams.

Expenditures for travel, food and lodging during the competitive exams are at the expense of the applicants.

Applicant regular servicemen may travel under papers issued by the subunit where they serve and may sign up for mess upon presentation of a food card.

During instruction at the school for the period of 5 years, the applicants receive state support.

B. Correspondence Instruction

1. Officers, sergeants in re-enlisted service and hired officials and workers (males) of the Construction Troops may apply for correspondence instruction at the General B1. Ivanov VNVSU.

2. Admitted as applicants for correspondence instruction are those who meet the following conditions:

Have a complete secondary education; have at least one year of labor employment in the Construction Troops by 1 June 1984 and work in their specialty; have served their regular military service; have been recommended by their immediate commanders; have received permission from Section 64390 under the GUSV [Main Directorate of the Construction Troops]; meet the requirements for reserve officers (for hired civilian employees and workers).

In addition to this, the following is required:

For officers: be not older than 40 years of age by 1 September 1984.

For re-enlisted sergeants: have completed a sergeant school or junior sergeant school with a grade of at least very good of 4.50; be not older than 23.

For hired civilian employees and workers: be not older than 30.

3. The applicants for correspondence instruction who meet the conditions prior to 30 April 1984 are to submit a report up the chain of command to Section 64390 under the GUSV for receiving permission for correspondence instruction, in appending: a copy of the diploma for a completed secondary (semi-higher) education; a recommendation from the formation.

Officers who have completed a semi-higher course of a school are admitted under the conditions of Points 12 and 13 of the Ukase No 613 of 26 August 1965.

4. Prior to 4 June 1984, the applicants are to submit up the chain of command to the chief of the General B1. Ivanov VNVSU the following documents (civilian employees submit the documents through the military district where they are registered): a petition for admission to the competitive exam or recognition of having completed the semi-higher course; the diploma for a complete secondary (semi-higher) education or a notarized copy of this; permission for correspondence instruction from Section 64390; a medical certificate; an autobiography; a certificate showing no criminal record; a certificate showing length of employment; a document showing preferential admission.

5. The reporting for the written competitive exams, the grading of the written work and the figuring of the number of points for correspondence instruction and the ranking of the applicants are carried out according to the procedure set for regular instruction.

6. The applicants for correspondence instruction have the same advantages as the candidates for regular instruction.

7. The decision on the admnnision of applicants for correspondence instruction is taken by the admission commission after conducting a personal talk with the applicants.

For telephone information: 22-34-94 and 2-12-81 (425, 533, 457, 431, 414).

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CSO: 2200/139

BULGARIA

ESTABLISHMENT OF MILITARY TRANSPORTATION ACADEMY, ADMISSION

Establishment of Transport School

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 12 Jun 84 p 566

[Decree No 23 of 26 May 1984 on Resolving Certain Questions Related to the Todor Kableshkov Higher People's Military Transport School in Sofia]

[Text] For providing the required higher personnel for rail transport, for the transport troops and other needs of the Ministry of Transportation and in relation to Decision No 387 of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee of 18 May 1984 and the Ukase No 1562 of the State Council of 21 May 1984 for Converting as of the 1984-1985 Academic Year the Todor Kableshkov Semi-Higher Rail Institute in Sofia Into the Todor Kableshkov Higher People's Military Transport School in Sofia, the Council of Ministers decrees:

Article 1. (1) The Todor Kableshkov Higher People's Military Transport School is to be established as a higher institution of learning with a period of instruction of 5 years.

(2) The Todor Kableshkov Higher People's Military Transport School is to be developed as a center for improving the skills of the leadership personnel in the transport sphere.

(3) The instructional-educational and scientific research activities in the school, as well as the activities in the area of improving the skills of the personnel, are to be carried out in integrated collaboration with the V. I. Lenin Higher Electrical Engineering Institute, the Higher Institute for Architecture and Construction and others.

(4) In the school as an integral form of instruction, they are to keep the semi-higher course for training personnel with a period of instruction of 3 years.

Article 2. The nomenclature of specialties for the Todor Kableshkov Higher People's Military Transport School is determined as given in the appendix.

Article 3. (1) The structure of the training process for the higher course and the specialties for the semi-higher course of instruction are to be approved by the minister of transportation.

(2) The training programs for the military disciplines for the higher and semi-higher course and the staff of the school are to be approved by the Ministry of National Defense.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers:
Grisha Filipov

Secretary of Council of Ministers:
Pancho Burkalov

Appendix to Article 2

Nomenclature of Specialties at the Sofia Todor Kableshkov Higher People's Military Transport School

1. The military specialty "Railroad Troops--Railroad Operations" with the qualification "officer, engineer in railroad operations," is the equivalent of the civilian specialty "Technology and Organization of Rail Transport," with the qualification "engineer" with the acquired capacity of "traffic director."

2. The military specialty "Railroad Troops--Operations of Locomotive and Car System" with the qualification "officer, engineer in operations and repair of rolling stock" is the equivalent of the civilian specialty "Railroad Equipment" with the qualification "engineer" with the acquired capacity of "locomotive engineer."

3. The military specialty "Railroad Troops--Construction and Rebuilding of Rail Lines" with the qualification "officer, engineer for construction and rebuilding of rail lines" is equal to the civilian specialty "Transport Construction" with the qualification "construction engineer."

4. The military specialty "Railroad Troops--Automation and Telemechanics in Rail Transport" with the qualification "officer, engineer in automation of rail transport" is the equivalent of the civilian specialty "Communications and Safety Equipment and Systems" with the qualification "electrical engineer."

5. The military specialty "Railroad Troops--Operation and Repair of Railroad and Track Construction Equipment" with the qualification "officer, engineer for railroad and track construction equipment" is equivalent to the civilian specialty "Materials Handling, Track and Construction Machines" with the qualification "mechanical engineer" with the acquired capability "operator of special railroad construction equipment."

2231

Ordinance on Admission Requirements

Sofia TRANSPORTEN GLAS in Bulgarian 20 Jun 84 p 8

[Ordinance of the Ministry of Transportation and the Todor Kableshkov Higher People's Military Transport School, winner of the Order of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, First Degree, Governing the Admission of Officer Candidates for

Regular Instruction and Students for Correspondence Instruction During the
1984-1985 Academic Year]

[Text] The Todor Kableshkov Higher People's Military Transport School is a military institution of learning of the Ministry of Transportation as part of the Troops of the Ministry of Transportation with a period of instruction of 5 years for the higher course and 3 years for the semi-higher course.

The applicants for the higher and semi-higher course of regular instruction initially apply to the semi-higher course in the following specialties: "Railroad Transport Operations"; "Operation and Repair of Diesel Locomotives"; "Operation and Repair of Electric Locomotives"; "Operation and Repair of Cars"; "Maintenance, Construction and Reconstruction of Railroad Lines"; "Automation, Telemechanics and Communications in Railroad Transport"; "Repair, Maintenance and Operation of Track and Railroad Construction Mechanization."

After successfully completing the first academic year according to the conditions established by the ordinance, the officer candidates can continue their education in the higher course in the following specialties: "Technology and Organization of Railroad Transport" with the qualification "engineer" with the acquired capacity of "traffic director"; "Railroad Equipment" with the qualification "engineer" with the acquired capacity of "locomotive engineer" or "mechanic for technical operations of cars"; "Transport Construction" with the qualification "construction engineer"; "Communications and Safety Equipment and Systems" with the qualification "electrical engineer"; "Materials Handling, Track and Construction Machinery" with the qualification "mechanical engineer" with the acquired capability "operator of special railroad construction equipment."

Permitted to apply to the school are young persons who meet the following conditions: they are Bulgarian citizens, have a completed secondary education; are politically correctly oriented; esteem the transportation profession and military service; are active members of the Komsomol; are physically healthy and meet the psychophysiological requirements of the corresponding specialty; are not older than the age of 23. Age is determined as of 1 September; they are not married; they have not been convicted and are not under indictment or investigation; they have been recommended by the commander of the unit (for servicemen in the first year of service); they or their parents have not submitted documents for leaving the country involving a change of citizenship.

Each young person has the right to apply to all specialties ranked by preference.

The applicant officer candidates personally submit to the chief of the school the following documents: an application of the standard model; a competitive card of the established type; a detailed autobiography; a diploma showing a completed secondary education or a notarized copy of it; a birth certificate; a certificate showing no criminal record; a medical certificate from a transport physician notarized by the military district and showing fitness for the military school; a recommendation from the military district (sent by the district); a declaration that they will serve wherever assigned for at least 10 years, and a document showing the right of preferential admission (sample documents can be obtained from the school).

Servicemen applicants submit the above documents through the unit commander. In addition to them, according to the same procedure they submit copies of the personal military booklet showing the given commendations and imposed reprimands, a recommendation from the military district, the health booklet and official recommendation.

Those applying simultaneously to other military schools and civilian institutions of higher learning do not need to report to the competitive exam, in submitting a certificate showing the required exams taken prior to 20 August 1984.

The date for submitting the documents is from 1 July to 31 July 1984.

Candidates are to take two written exams: one in mathematics and a second in social science. The competitive exams cover material studied in the unified secondary polytechnical schools.

The time for the holding of the exams is as follows: for mathematics on 4 August 1984; for social science on 5 August 1984.

The applicant officer candidates are to report to the school on the day of the examination no later than 0730 hours. The school does not provide sleeping facilities for the applicants.

Those applicants which have rank must undergo a medical exam and psychophysiological examination at the school lasting 2 days. The applicants are informed in writing as of the date.

The ranking is made according to the specialties, the railroad administrations and the number of points. The ranking for Sofia is carried out separately. After the competitive exams, the medical exams and the psychophysiological examinations of the applicants, the admission commission conducts a personal talk with each applicant and takes a decision.

The applicants ranked as officer candidates at the school are given the right to travel free on the Bulgarian State Railroads and a letter of admission to the school.

Men and women can apply for correspondence instruction at the semi-higher course of the school if they are not older than 40 years of age and have been employed in the system of rail, plant and industrial rail transport in the first, second, third and sixth specialties indicated for regular instruction. By 1 October these applicants must be employed and have at least 1 year of employment in the specialty for which they are applying and they are to submit their documents from 1 July through 31 July 1984.

Correspondence instruction for the higher course will be provided from the 1985-1986 academic year.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHNOUPEK ON CONTEMPORARY TASKS IN FOREIGN POLICY

Prague MEZINARODNI VZTAHY in Czech No 5, 1984 pp 3-14

[Article by Eng Bohuslav Chnoupek, CPCZ Central Committee member and Czechoslovak foreign minister: "Current Tasks of Czechoslovak Foreign Policy." For another statement of Chnoupek's views on contemporary CSSR foreign policy, see "CSSR Policy Focuses on Disarmament, Pact Unity" in FBIS Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, Vol II, No 124, 26 June 1984, pp BB1-BB5]

[Text] The foreign policy and diplomacy of socialist Czechoslovakia systematically, actively, and initiatively implements a general policy aiming at the fulfillment of the peace program of the countries of the socialist community, at a consistent class approach to all phenomena of socialist life. The fact that in spite of all the dangerous intrigues of imperialism it was possible to defend peace in building socialism and communism is without doubt the biggest success of this very important effort of the fraternal socialist countries.

The present period of Czechoslovak foreign policy fully confirms the thesis of the 16th CPCZ Congress, which stated that the "1980's will not be easy." As a result of the efforts on the part of the most reactionary imperialist circles, primarily the United States, to change the existing military-strategic balance of power and to gain superiority, we are witnessing a further aggravation of international tension. These aggressive circles have adopted a course characterized by an escalation of the arms race, the creation of war tension in various parts of the world, and aggression against nations fighting for freedom and independence. This is best documented by an entire series of steps directed against peace and international security. These steps include primarily the placing of new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe, a fact which aborted the USSR-U.S. negotiations in Geneva concerning nuclear weapons in Europe as well as the limitation and reduction of strategic weapons; the U.S. invasion of Grenada; undeclared war against Nicaragua; unprecedented threats to Cuba; as well as continued aggression in Lebanon which, as a result of the presence of American troops, evidences the clear-cut framework of a large-scale plot by imperialists against the just interests of Middle Eastern nations. The open support for South African racists in their campaign against Angola and other African nations is a similar example. We are also witnessing a further shameless imposition of will by the multinational corporations on numerous countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Thus, it is absolutely logical to build and constantly strengthen an effective defensive barrier against this imperialist policy of planned aggravation of the international situation. This barrier calls for uniting the broad masses of the people of the entire globe and of their organizations, societies, and movements around a real peace alternative, spelled out in the initiative relating to the peace and disarmament proposals of the 26th CPSU Congress, in the statements of the highest Soviet officials, in joint proposals submitted by the Warsaw Pact member-countries, especially in the Prague Political Declaration, as well as in the statements of the highest party and state officials of the seven socialist countries in Moscow in June 1983.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party, the federal government, and all the Czechoslovak people consider this organic continuation and development of the CPSU's peace program a reliable and highly effective path in solving the burning and pressing problems of contemporary international life. At the same time, they see in this program a concentrated expression of the interests, needs, and goals of Czechs and Slovaks as far as international relations are concerned.

This most solid base also supports our confidence concerning such serious questions as the defense of Czechoslovakia in the new military-strategic and political situation that arose in the fall of 1983 as a consequence of the stationing of new American nuclear medium-range missiles in several countries of Western Europe. The arrival and installation of the first Pershing missiles of the new generation forced us--and a similar thing happened in the GDR--to adopt defensive measures, namely, to start preparatory work on the development of missile bases under operational-tactical command. These measures, as well as other countermeasures announced in the USSR on 24 November 1983, were accepted with understanding by our people.

This is absolutely logical. We in Czechoslovakia cannot remain indifferent to increased danger from the outside. If the effect of contemporary nuclear weapons would be extremely catastrophic in Europe, then this would be doubly valid as far as our country is concerned because of its high population density and developed urban, industrial, and communications infrastructure. The flight time of American missiles from the nearby West German Mutlangen to our territory would be measured in the tens of seconds. We cannot be deceived or caught unprepared. It was for this reason that we, in this qualitatively completely new military-strategic situation, have undertaken the necessary defensive steps which are able to compensate for the increased threat against us.

The placing of the new American missiles has become a fact dramatically affecting our lives. However, it is exactly in this uneasy time that we can fully understand the significance of our alliance with the Soviet Union, which is completely aware of its responsibility for maintaining and strengthening peace in the eyes of all nations of the world. The Soviet leadership pays equal attention to the defense of the USSR and its allies and to the endeavors for concrete progress in the struggle to prevent the danger of a nuclear war and strengthen the policy of peaceful coexistence. This was once again confirmed by the secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee,

Konstantin Chernenko, who emphasized in his funeral address in Moscow that, despite the existing tense international situation, "the Soviet Union will continue in its peace policy--to achieve a permanent and just peace for all nations, large and small." As far as a return to the Geneva conference table is concerned, we appreciate the fact that the Soviet Union still shows interest and readiness to conduct honest negotiations on the basis of equality and equal security. It is up to the Western politicians to abandon their policy of militarism, their absurd arms race, and interference in the internal affairs of other countries and to replace this senseless policy with a policy of peace and cooperation.

We in Czechoslovakia, too, believe that had the official circles in Washington been really interested in conducting an honest and constructive dialogue with the USSR, then the words of peace which have been repeated so many times recently should be followed by matter-of-fact and concrete proposals and by a change in Washington's unyielding and unrealistic policy. Unfortunately, nothing of this sort has yet been proposed. There have been no new ideas, not even an indication of political change, whether in connection with the question of nuclear weapons in Europe or the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of troops and equipment in Central Europe, in which Czechoslovakia also takes part.

Until now, this sterility of American diplomacy and the absence of constructive peace ideas have been manifested in the form of tactical postponements, in conducting negotiations to negotiate, in refusing *a priori* any initiative by the other party. The way out of today's tense and dangerous situation is not through a conscious distortion of this situation. Neither can this situation be dismissed by stating that the new American missiles in Europe have not hurt East-West relations, have not endangered international security, and that in the end nothing has happened as far as global policy is concerned. This is a deception, a transparent attempt to dispel the nations' uneasiness over the growing military preparations of imperialism.

In this connection Czechoslovakia believes that the government of each country can and must actively contribute to the establishment of fruitful international cooperation. Only one thing is necessary to achieve this goal: good will and an effort to learn to think in a responsible and statesmanlike manner, corresponding to given conditions. At the same time, nobody asks the responsible Western politicians who have a decisive word on the questions of war and peace to give up their conviction and their social ideals. The problem is to persuade them to ignore military reflexes in their relations with those who have different political concepts.

Thus, it is desirable that Western politicians return to the style of recent years when reason prevailed, that they understand the meaning of the demands of the time, overcome conservatism in their thinking, and abandon the outdated schemes of the Cold War. It is necessary that they accept the fact that all attempts for "diplomacy by force" against socialism are totally without hope. In particular, it is necessary that they seriously consider the argument advanced by the socialist countries according to which the placing

of the new American nuclear missiles in Europe logically increases not only military but also political tension in the world.

Thus one has to look for a solution in different forms: in an honestly conducted dialogue which, based on equality and equal security, aims at achieving concrete agreements. At the same time, there exists much evidence that there are still conditions for such candid dialogue in the interests of peace. This was clearly demonstrated at the meetings of the highest Soviet representative, Konstantin Chernenko, and other Soviet leaders with the representatives of numerous socialist, capitalist, and developing countries which took place in Moscow in February. These discussions demonstrated that political realism, in spite of all obstacles, is a resilient and viable process. After all, all this was already confirmed by the results of the final phase of the Madrid meeting and in particular its decision to hold a conference on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe, which started in Stockholm on 17 January 1984 and is still in progress. However, it is necessary to keep in mind the fact that the Stockholm Conference is not replacing and cannot replace negotiations on disarmament, as is occasionally inferred by the representatives of the imperialist circles.

As far as this significant international political event is concerned, Czechoslovakia prepared for it in the hope--and it is acting at the conference in that sense--that the conference will make an important contribution to the process of easing the tension and will link this process to the military sphere. Czechoslovakia from the beginning approaches this conference with a determination optimally to contribute to its constructive course and positive results. Czechoslovakia sees in the efforts to strengthen confidence and security a significant direction in European politics which could help the tense international political climate.

However, nobody in Czechoslovakia is under any illusion that the Stockholm conference will progress easily and without problems. The opening of the conference already indicated that the fulfillment of its mandate will not be easy. The polarization of opinions at the conference only testifies to that. On the one hand, the socialist countries are submitting detailed proposals concerning the agreements based on equality, balance, mutuality, and equal respect for the interests of all participating countries. On the other hand, efforts are being made by certain NATO countries to narrow down the meaning of confidence- and security-building measures to several provisions of a clearly technical nature. In spite of all that, the first few months of the conference have shown that the dangerous slipping of the world in the direction of the abyss can be prevented. The nations of Europe expect from the conference results that would lead to military detente, and their hopes must not be disappointed.

For this reason, Czechoslovakia together with its allies has recommended the adoption of significant military-political measures, in the first place, the drafting of a treaty on mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries. We have also used the Stockholm meeting to popularize these proposals widely. Already at the start of the conference we began to emphasize our position that

under the conditions of existing tension in international relations the very fact of opening negotiations on such a treaty is undeniable proof of the good will of various countries in searching for a way to prevent the danger of war, reviving the policy of relaxation of tension and preserving peace. This proposal also concretizes and interprets a generally valid prohibition against the use of force and the threat of force which is stated in the UN Charter. It concretizes and interprets this prohibition using a method which the UN Charter not only admits but also presupposes. Similarly, this proposal of ours fulfills the mandate of the Stockholm conference to make it obligatory for the states to show restraint in their mutual relations with respect to the use of force or the threat of force.

We proposed in Stockholm that the nucleus of the treaty could be a proposal the Warsaw Pact countries made to the NATO countries to renounce nuclear or conventional first strikes against one another or against third countries. The pledge would be supplemented by concrete promises of the countries of the two groups aimed at removing the danger of unexpected attack, the strengthening of mutual confidence and negotiations concerning limited armament, and negotiations concerning disarmament on the basis of equality and equal security.

The draft treaty, however, could go even further. It could contain not only a binding norm to renounce the first use of military force, but also active cooperation in the most important areas of strengthening international security, an obligation to improve peaceful relations. Precisely because of this reason, the adoption of such a treaty would mean a contribution to the realization of the Helsinki Accords. A contractual stipulation of such a pledge would have much greater political and legal weight than a mere declaration by countries to the effect that they would not use their weapons in any other way than as a response to an attack. The treaty would be open to other countries, and not only to European ones. I am talking about a proposal of far-reaching significance and not about a mere declarative act.

In Stockholm we expressed our belief that a pledge by the Western nuclear powers to the effect that they, like the Soviet Union, will not be the first to use nuclear weapons would become a very important step in protecting the continent from nuclear war. A creation of nuclear free zones or corridors which are under consideration in different parts of Europe would contribute to this goal.

The elimination of chemical weapons would undoubtedly have great significance for the densely populated European continent as far as confidence and security building are concerned. A step toward this end could be the gradual creation of chemical weapon-free zones, as spelled out in the latest important proposal made by the Warsaw Pact to the NATO countries in January 1984. We believe that it would be useful to have a meeting of authorized representatives this year to discuss this proposal. This step is organically part of the overall effort of the socialist countries aimed at the adoption of a convention on the general prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons. A pertinent proposal containing the basic stipulations in such a convention was

submitted by the Soviet Union at the Second Special Meeting of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament in 1982. Paying attention to other partners and in the interest of a speedy achievement of progress, the Soviet Union elaborated on this proposal at the Disarmament Conference in Geneva in February 1984 by submitting a number of control measures to be applied from the very start until the complete liquidation of chemical weapon stockpiles.

All these measures, if one is to use the words of the mandate of the Stockholm Conference, can unequivocally be described as militarily significant and politically binding. In this sense they fully correspond to the mandate of the Stockholm Conference.

Czechoslovakia is willing and ready to lend its support to any other measures enhancing confidence and security building, provided that they help a real reduction of military confrontation in the spirit of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. For example, a pledge of giving advance notice of extensive ground force maneuvers proved to be a good idea. There are other possible useful measures: for example, limiting the scope of military exercises by limiting the number of participating troops, notification of air force and naval exercises, as well as of troop transfers.

Czechoslovakia holds to an unswerving position that the success of the Stockholm Conference can be secured only if all its participants act in an honest way. Attempts consciously to propose unacceptable demands and request one-sided advantages would only undermine the work of the conference and would be naturally resisted by the socialist countries.

Last year, too, Czechoslovakia was significantly involved in actions calling for the reduction of the arms race and disarmament. The 38th meeting of the UN General Assembly adopted two Czechoslovak draft resolutions concerning these issues. The resolution on international cooperation toward disarmament emphasized the topicality of the adoption of the proposals whose goal is to eliminate the use of force on a worldwide or regional scale, which expresses its support for a proposal to conclude a treaty on mutual nonuse of military force and to maintain peaceful relations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, as spelled out in the Prague Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact countries in January 1983. In accordance with the resolutions adopted at the Prague World Assembly for Peace and Life and Against Nuclear War, the declaration contains an appeal addressed to all governments to contribute to the halting of the arms race. A resolution concerning the activity of international organizations in the area of disarmament, which was prepared in close cooperation with the USSR and Cuba, positively evaluates international organizations in the area of disarmament and charges these organizations with expanding their activities.

The results of last year's UN General Assembly have great significance for Czechoslovakia especially as far as the future is concerned. The adoption of significant proposals made by the socialist countries at this forum, especially such proposals as the very topical Soviet resolution concerning the prevention of nuclear war, a freeze on nuclear weapons, and a proposal to

prohibit the use of force in space and from space against the earth, give us hope. The conversion of these proposals into a legal agreement at the Disarmament Conference in Geneva would undoubtedly contribute to the reduced threat of nuclear war and the limitation of the arms race.

In this connection, Czechoslovak foreign policy will also pay special attention to the decision of the UN General Assembly to call the Third Evaluating Conference on the Implementation of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, which will be held in Geneva in 1985. Czechoslovakia, as a member of the conference's preparatory committee, will ask to be permitted to preside at one of the sessions of the conference. At this year's 39th meeting of the UN General Assembly, Czechoslovakia actively joined the efforts aimed at limiting the arms race and at disarmament in conventional weapons. We shall try to prepare and submit the pertinent resolution for adoption.

At the Vienna negotiations our main task is to achieve, within the shortest possible time, a radical reduction of armed forces and equipment in Central Europe. For this purpose a good point of departure is the complex of proposals of the socialist countries submitted on 17 February and 23 June 1983, which is a compromise making it possible to maintain and develop everything positive achieved at these negotiations since 1973, including a way to find a reasonable solution to all open questions. Hence, in connection with the 32nd round of the Vienna negotiations, which got under way on 16 March of this year, we fully expect that the West will re-evaluate the sterile positions it has defended so far, adopt a constructive stance, and present a matter-of-fact reply to the initiative of the Warsaw Pact countries of 1983.

The adoption of the Czechoslovak proposal on the rights of youth, especially the right of young people to education and work, by all UN countries is not only a concrete manifestation of the adoption of a socialist concept of understanding human rights as far as youth is concerned, but also significantly affects preparations for the International Youth Year in 1985. The Czechoslovak delegation, together with other socialist countries, in the pertinent resolution also called the attention of UN countries to the danger stemming from acts of international terrorism. The need to identify international terrorism and the struggle against this evil be no less important in the future.

The governments of certain Western countries, especially the United States, were identified at the 38th UN General Assembly as being responsible for various imperialist acts in the Middle East, southern Africa, Latin America and other parts of the world. Hence, we will continue our attempts to solve international conflicts, demand complete respect for the UN Charter, and call on the imperialist countries, especially the United States, to give up unjustified claims of spheres of influence.

Czechoslovak foreign policy in 1983 was also characterized by an active negotiation of international agreements. Altogether, 131 bilateral agreements were signed and Czechoslovakia became a party to 24 multilateral agreements. This year, we are negotiating some 300 bilateral and 40 multilateral agreements.

The positive results achieved by Czechoslovakia in the overall development of individual relations stem from the high degree of activity in the area of personal contacts, consultations, discussions, and summit meetings of heads of states, heads of governments, political parties, parliaments, and social organizations. For example, last year we were involved in 4 presidential summits, 12 meetings by the chairman of the Federal Assembly, 7 meetings of the federal prime minister with heads of governments. The Czechoslovak foreign minister met with his counterparts from 15 countries from all parts of the world, not counting dozens of meetings at the United Nations, in Madrid, or Stockholm.

As far as the further successful development of bilateral relations is concerned, the main task of Czechoslovak foreign policy is simple: "All our plans will continue to be based on friendship, alliance, and multifaceted cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries," as stated in the resolution of the Ninth CPCZ Central Committee plenum. "Through joint application of our ability to defend ourselves, improvement of socialist economic integration, coordination of foreign policy activity, close cooperation in all fields, strengthening fraternal relations, international unity, and togetherness of our community we will help to improve our joint power and authority."

The fulfillment of this main task of Czechoslovak foreign policy is especially important because of the existing dangerous "nuclear missile" situation. From this point of view we are adopting a series of measures concretely and actively to relate our foreign policy even more in the direction of close cooperation with the Warsaw Pact countries, and to coordinate our actions in implementing the intent and decisions of the Political Consultative Committee, CEMA, and the foreign ministers' committee. The same applies to the active contribution of Czechoslovakia to the joint political-ideological offensive against bourgeois propaganda, a part of which is psychological warfare carried out by imperialism in an obvious attempt to divide the socialist countries and disrupt their unity by using the so-called differentiating policy. Hand in glove with these tasks goes active Czechoslovak participation in the further acceleration of the qualitative development of economic cooperation among the socialist countries, especially through the use of a consistent and systematic implementation of the decisions reached at the CEMA summit meeting.

The basic axiom of Czechoslovak foreign policy--and not only within the framework of narrow bilateral relations--is the continuous strengthening and improvement of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations. The results of building a developed socialist society in the USSR offer an inspiring example to Czechoslovakia and prove that there are no problems that socialism, based on the power and initiative of the working class and all working people under the leadership of the communist party, would not be able to solve. The fraternal relations with the Soviet Union have given to the Czechoslovak people security and support during the most trying periods of our history, when the security and sovereignty of our country were at stake. We are reminding ourselves of this priceless truth on the occasion of the forthcoming 40th

anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising and, next year, the 40th anniversary of our country's liberation by the Soviet Army.

We can state with satisfaction that the period of the active implementation of the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 16th CPCZ Congress witnesses further development and improvement of the alliance and cooperation between our two countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. Central to this problem is a continuous strengthening of cooperation between the two fraternal communist parties and their central committees. We are able consistently to carry out the spirit and letter of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance of 6 May 1970.

This treaty is the basis of our entire joint activity in all fields and all levels, especially of the closely coordinated foreign policy of our allied countries.

From the entire gamut of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations we should note certain aspects of economic cooperation. In 1983, the foreign trade between these two countries increased by 13.8 percent in comparison with 1982. The Soviet share in overall Czechoslovak foreign trade was 44 percent. This fact, too, points to the ever-growing importance of Czechoslovak-Soviet trade relations.

The protocol on mutual trade and payments for 1984 also points to the increasing trade relations and dynamics of development of economic cooperation with the USSR. According to this protocol, the trade between the two countries may amount to more than 10.5 billion rubles, which is a 12 percent increase in comparison with 1982.

The Long-term Program of Specialization and Cooperation of Production Up to 1990, signed on 13 March 1980, has special significance for the further development of economic relations between Czechoslovakia and the USSR. This program represents a basic trend in the gradual integration of the economies of the two countries in the 1980's. The implementation of the adopted measures anticipates the organization of production of 277 new machines, equipment and supplementary products; evaluation of the possibility of mutual cooperation of production in 30 production branches; replacement of approximately 50 types of machines and equipment imported from the West by similar products of Czechoslovak or Soviet make; and a joint effort aimed at improving the technical level and quality of the engineering industry products. On the basis of the Long-term Program of Specialization and Cooperation, we have already signed 149 specialization agreements, of which 124 are multi-lateral, with both Czechoslovakia and the USSR being participants, while 25 bilateral agreements and a number of other agreements are in the works. Only in this way can we improve the quality of this very important cooperation.

Czechoslovakia's relations with the Bulgarian People's Republic, as confirmed by the discussions at the summit in September 1982 and a meeting of the foreign ministers of the two countries in November 1983, manifest our two countries' determination to fulfill a common goal--to build socialism.

Economic cooperation is dynamic; the share of specialization and cooperation has reached 38 percent. Long-term trade agreements are regularly overfulfilled. A plan of economic cooperation for the years following 1985 is in the works. The future of mutual relations is based on the fulfillment of the Warsaw Pact's policy to struggle for the maintenance and strengthening of peace.

The basis of our relations with the GDR is complete agreement on the views of the CPCZ and the SED and of both countries on the questions of building socialism, the international communist and workers' movement, and our evaluation of the international situation. The relations between the two countries can be called exemplary in all respects. An especially significant role is played by personal meetings of the secretaries general of the CPCZ Central Committee and the SED Central Committee, G. Husak and G. Honecker (their last meeting was held 24 October 1983). The agreements adopted at these meetings are being successfully implemented. The firm economic relations between the CSSR and GDR constitute a stabilizing factor within CEMA. In the economic area, the two parties emphasize the development of cooperation in the new branches, starting with research and ending with production (especially robotization, microelectronics, consumer electronics). We will continue intensive cooperation in the chemical industry and engineering. There is no single kraj in Czechoslovakia which would not have fraternal relations with its GDR counterpart.

Our relations with the Hungarian People's Republic are being developed on the principles of socialist internationalism and good neighborly relations in all areas of social life.

This is attested to by regular comradely meetings of the highest party and state leaders, G. Husak and J. Kadar, the heads of government of the CSSR and Hungary, L. Strougal and G. Lazar, as well as other party, state, and public officials of the two countries. At the November 1983 meeting between G. Husak and J. Kadar in Prague, the two men confirmed their identical views concerning the basic questions of building socialism and foreign policy during the present complex and tense international situation.

As far as the Polish People's Republic is concerned, Czechoslovakia fully supports the policy of the Polish United Workers Party, the effort of the government and all patriotic forces in Poland in building socialism, consolidating society and the political and economic stabilization of the country. Cooperation between the CPCZ and the PZPR especially the regular meetings of the highest party and state representatives, has decisive significance for developing fraternal relations between the CSSR and the PRL. Czechoslovakia will continue to improve its diversified contacts and cooperation in the economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and educational fields. It will also encourage cooperation among social organizations and direct fraternal relations between the krajs, plants, schools, and institutes.

Czechoslovak-Romanian relations developed in 1983 are on the whole successful. In the political area, Central Committee Presidium member and Chairman of the Central Committee of Trade Unions K. Hoffmann visited Romania. In

February 1984 there was a meeting between Central Committee Secretary V. Bilak and the secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, M. Dobrescu. We expect to have the Czechoslovak prime minister and foreign minister visit Romania this year. A meeting between the Czechoslovak and Romanian deputy prime ministers, L. Gerle and M. Enache, in Prague in March 1984 dealt with the topical questions of foreign trade and the problems of cooperation and specialization. This will also be a topic on the agenda of the 15th meeting of the Joint Czechoslovak-Romanian Government Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation in Bucharest in June 1984.

The development of Czechoslovak-Yugoslav relations has shown an improving trend in recent years. This positive trend of broadening and improving mutual cooperation has manifested itself in all areas of our bilateral relations. The leading role was played by the relations between party and government representatives and social organizations. Improved mutual economic cooperation, showing possibilities for further development in the area of cooperation in third markets, has been evident. This year, we expect a meeting of the presidents, prime ministers, and foreign ministers of the two countries to occur.

As far as Czechoslovak-Albanian relations are concerned, we are trying gradually to normalize them in the political and cultural areas and to broaden our existing economic cooperation.

A special place in our foreign relations is occupied by our relations with the fraternal countries of Indochina. The Vietnamese Socialist Republic, the Cambodian People's Republic, and the Laotian People's Republic, after their difficultly won freedom, are making a maximum effort to revive and develop their national economy and culture and to secure a normal and peaceful life in the region. In this effort they have our full support, starting with foreign trade, the unselfish transfer of our know-how, cooperation in various industrial branches of industry, and ending with our offering education and training to more than 30,000 apprentices, young workers, and students in Czechoslovakia. We are decisively supporting the foreign policy of the states of Indochina aiming at transforming Southeast Asia into an area of peace, stability, mutual advantageous, and good neighborhood cooperation.

The same is true as far as the Mongolian People's Republic is concerned. We fully support the Mongolian proposal to negotiate a convention on non-aggression and non-use of force in the relations between the states of Asia and the Pacific area.

We pay great attention to further progressive development of multifaceted cooperation with socialist Cuba, which will contribute to the strengthening of the political-economic positions not only of the two countries but also of the entire socialist community.

We will give maximum support to the heroic Nicaraguan people who, under their Sandinista leadership, are facing counterrevolutionary incursions by the Somoza bands and a real danger of outside aggression.

As far as our relations with the People's Republic of China are concerned, the 16th CPCZ Congress clearly stated: Czechoslovakia, as we have emphasized several times, is ready--while consistently maintaining the basic principles of our foreign policy--to improve relations with the PRC. In this respect we have undertaken several steps. In comparison with 1982, there has been a substantial increase in mutual trade relations. Our cultural, educational, and sports exchanges have been initiated. During last year's UN General Assembly meeting, the foreign ministers of the two countries met. However, we are still far from full normalization. Facing the dangers stemming from the existing aggravated international situation, Czechoslovakia will continue to undertake steps aiming at such normalization with the PRC, which would be profitable not only for the two countries but also for increasing the influence of socialism in international life, easing world tension, and maintaining peace.

The attitude of Czechoslovakia toward the developing countries is governed by our traditional orientation toward improving friendly and advantageous relations. As stated in the resolutions adopted at the Ninth CPCZ Central Committee Plenum: "In the interest of strengthening the broad peace front we will develop cooperation with the nations and progressive and democratic forces of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, support their struggle for freedom, independence and social progress, their struggle against imperialism and fight interference in their internal affairs."

Our maximum support for a just struggle against racism and apartheid in southern Africa, for the complete liberation and independence of Namibia, for the right of the Palestinian people to their free country and peaceful solution of the Middle East situation, as well as the determined effort by the Central American and Caribbean nations to apply their legitimate right to free and independent development without foreign interference, will remain a significant task of Czechoslovak foreign policy in the future.

Czechoslovakia will continue to pay utmost attention to countries such as Afghanistan, Ethiopia, the People's Republic of Yemen, Angola, Mozambique, Madagascar, Benin, the People's Republic of the Congo and others, which have opted for a path of socialist development. Based on the treaties of friendship and cooperation we have signed with several of these countries, we shall emphasize a dynamic broadening of cooperation in all spheres. In addition, to the strengthening of political contacts at the party and state level, there will be further development of contacts among trade union, cooperative, and the youth and women's organizations of our countries.

Our relations with the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are being developed in many directions. The successes achieved by Afghanistan in building a new social order with the fraternal help of other socialist countries show that the efforts to reverse the existing development in Afghanistan cannot succeed.

In our relations with the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen we shall try to strengthen the political and economic position of this first Arab country to follow the theories of scientific socialism, which is the rationale for

the leading force of Yemeni society, namely, the Yemeni Socialist Party. We plan to continue to develop Czechoslovak-Ethiopian relations in all spheres in the interest of Ethiopia's progressive regime. As far as Angola and Mozambique are concerned, we shall continue to render our help to these countries within our possibilities in order to enable them to face aggression by the South African racists. Our actions of cooperation with Madagascar, Benin, and the People's Republic of the Congo will be based on our sincere interest to assist them in the implementation of their plans in building a new just society.

Such important countries as, for example, India, Syria, Algeria, Libya, Iraq, Nigeria, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and others that are trying to strengthen their political and economic independence from imperialism and neocolonialism and their national economic and social potential will remain in the center of attention of Czechoslovak foreign policy. In our relations with these countries we shall develop political contacts at various levels, including the highest level, as we expect to do with Syria and Algeria this year. These countries are important economic partners of ours and in developing mutually advantageous economic cooperation we will assist especially in the application of their progressive forms by industrial cooperation, cooperation in third markets, etc. The same is true of the successful development of Czechoslovak-Indian relations, which have a long tradition. This is demonstrated by past and recent summit meetings, including the trip of Indian President Giani Zaila Singh to Czechoslovakia in 1983 and a recent visit to India by our Prime Minister L. Strougal, which has greatly contributed to the further multifaceted development of Czechoslovak-Indian cooperation.

In our relations with Nigeria, the country with the largest population in Africa, we will insure the broadening of contacts, with emphasis on economic cooperation.

Czechoslovakia highly appreciates the movement of the nonaligned countries, whose place and role in the existing aggravated international relations is of great importance. This movement is viewed as an irreplaceable factor actively engaged in the struggle for improving the international situation, for stopping the arms race, for installing permanent peace and for a peaceful solution to all conflicts in the world. In particular, the results of the seventh summit meeting of nonaligned nations in New Delhi--reflected in the appeal addressed to individual states and nations and calling for the development of broad mutual cooperation by creating a new and just international order--find positive response in Czechoslovakia. In this spirit Czechoslovak foreign policy will continue to do its share under existing possibilities to help to increase the prestige of this movement, especially its active role in the anti-imperialist struggle, in the struggle for world peace and against nuclear war. For this Czechoslovakia has all the prerequisites because of the good name it enjoys among many nonaligned countries and its traditionally friendly relations with the movement's presiding country, which is now India, not to mention the movement's progressive nucleus, led by the Republic of Cuba and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Czechoslovakia will continue to activate the relations with the movement's member-countries further, not only through bilateral relations but also through the vehicle of international organizations and important world forums.

We welcome and support the efforts for a peaceful solution of the Central American crisis on the part of the Contadora group, whose activity significantly slows down the realization of the aggressive plans of North American imperialism to liquidate, through the use of military force, the national liberation struggle of the people in El Salvador and the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua.

As far as our relations with the advanced capitalist countries are concerned, it is necessary to state that in recent years they have been marked by an overall worsening of the international climate. However, even in this extremely tense and dangerous situation, Czechoslovakia is not abandoning the principle of developing relations with countries with a different social system on the basis of peaceful coexistence, and equal and mutually advantageous cooperation, while consistently rejecting any forms of pressure, discrimination, and interference in [one another's] internal affairs.

In accordance with the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, we are contributing and will contribute in the future to halting the dangerous tension in the world and helping the process of detente. It is obvious that the development of our relations with the Western countries will depend primarily on the willingness, good will, and sense of reality on the part of our partners.

It is natural that the new political situation stemming from the placing of new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe will be reflected in our political relations with those countries that are the initiators of this dangerous step and with those that approved it. The same logic applies to the fact that the development of a political dialogue will find better soil in the case of those advanced capitalist countries which either spoke up against the new American missiles or are refusing to place them on their territory.

We have emphasized in the past and emphasize again that we are in favor of peaceful coexistence. Czechoslovak foreign policy has always been dictated by the effort for a political dialogue between East and West, and we do not plan to give up this principle in the future. It is understandable that we shall give this entire process in its general and bilateral nature serious consideration. We will take into consideration not the words but the deeds aiming at detente and preventing the danger of war.

As far as our individual relations are concerned, we can show that in recent years there has been a positive development in mutually advantageous relations with neighboring Austria. We are interested in having this trend continue and in developing a political dialogue as a joint useful contribution to the efforts to improve the situation in Europe. We are certain that the forthcoming visit to Czechoslovakia by Austrian Foreign Minister E. Lance will significantly contribute to this trend.

We greatly appreciate our relations with Finland over the years in the form of numerous contacts and fruitful cooperation in a number of fields. In the attitudes of Finland and also of Sweden we find many things which support forces that are genuinely interested in strengthening the security of the

European nations. In this we see a good basis for useful dialogue with these countries in the interest of peace. A significant opportunity for such a dialogue will be the forthcoming visit to Czechoslovakia by Swedish Foreign Minister L. Bodstrom and the planned talks of the Czechoslovak foreign minister in Finland.

We naturally intend further to develop a friendly and mutually advantageous cooperation with the Republic of Cyprus, whom we support in its just struggle for independence, territorial integrity, and against foreign interference.

In our relations with Spain we witnessed a substantial change for the better in the 1970's. Czechoslovakia is sincerely interested in the intensification and improvement of these relations. A significant impulse for this should come with the forthcoming visit by the Spanish foreign minister to Czechoslovakia, which we expect to take place this year.

We are bound by friendship to Greece, strengthened by the progressive features of its public policy reflected, among other things, in its encouragement of relations with the socialist countries. Both our countries are interested in the further multifaceted development of Czechoslovak-Greek relations, including a political dialogue at the summit. A manifestation of this trend will undoubtedly be the anticipated visit to Czechoslovakia by the Greek prime minister.

It can be expected that the desirable impulse for the development of Czechoslovak-Swiss relations will be given by the planned visit to Switzerland by the Czechoslovak foreign minister. This will be the very first official visit by the Czechoslovak foreign minister in the entire history of relations between our two countries.

We also want to develop fruitful relations with Denmark and Norway, with which we have a useful dialogue, facilitated by the fact that we see elements of realism in their attitudes toward certain important foreign policy questions. From this point of view, a recent visit to Czechoslovakia by Norwegian Foreign Minister S. Stray was very significant.

Our relations with Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg are not burdened by any unsolved problems, and we are interested in a further improvement of these relations in all respects.

We welcome the progressive normalization of mutual relations with Portugal. We are ready to revive a political dialogue with this country and substantially to broaden cooperation in all fields.

With respect to France, Czechoslovak foreign policy is guided by long-range views and awareness of the importance to France of the solution of questions of security and disarmament in Europe. The results of this year's trip to France by the Czechoslovak foreign minister show that in spite of our differences of view on certain questions, the prerequisites exist for elevating and intensifying our mutual political dialogue, for utilizing more effectively

all our possibilities of economic and scientific-technical cooperation, and for improving our traditionally extensive cultural exchanges.

Persuasive proof of the good will of Czechoslovakia to conduct matter-of-fact and peace-oriented dialogues was the recent welcome offered to Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau. We appreciate his initial proposals concerning nuclear disarmament, the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, and demilitarization of space. We assured him that Czechoslovakia considers its most pressing present task to do everything to prevent the danger of war and to strengthen world peace. In this spirit nothing stands in the way of further improvement of Czechoslovak-Canadian relations. Cooperation in the economic and trade fields, where we are not fully utilizing all possibilities at all, could be an important part of our mutual relations.

As far as Japan is concerned, disregarding the great geographic distance, we are trying, on the basis of a previous visit to Japan by the Czechoslovak prime minister and the meeting of the foreign ministers of the two countries in Japan last year, to maintain favorable conditions for a political dialogue and the broadening of mutually advantageous cooperation.

We have recently revived political contacts with Italy. In spite of the unfavorable influence exerted by the newly created situation on the European continent on the dynamics of relations, we especially want to develop and improve economic and cultural cooperation with that country further.

Last year, our relations with the Federal Republic of Germany continued on a positive track. However, the consent given by the Bundestag on 22 November 1983 to the placing of new American medium-range missiles on FRG territory, not far away from our borders, contradicting the spirit of an agreement concerning the normalization of relations between the CSSR and the FRG of December 1973, has affected our mutual relations.

However, we want to continue dialogue and cooperation in the interest of peaceful coexistence with all those who are struggling against the nuclear threat on our continent.

We are trying to develop trade, economic, cultural, and scientific-technical relations with Britain, in which both countries are interested and where, after a long pause, we are achieving positive results.

We are willing and ready to discuss all open problems and to develop relations with the United States as well, on the basis of mutual advantage and full equality. However, it is necessary for the United States to change its attitude toward Czechoslovakia, to remove existing discriminatory measures, and to discontinue its efforts to pursue maximalist and unrealistic notions concerning the possibilities of the development and full normalization of our relations. Economic and particularly trade contacts could be a significant part of Czechoslovak-American relations. However, the harsh discriminatory measures adopted by the United States are preventing the development of these relations.

There is no doubt that all the tasks that Czechoslovak foreign policy and diplomacy face today are highly demanding. However, the time in which we live and work is also demanding. In the same sense, it is not necessary to doubt that the Czechoslovak foreign service, under the leadership of the CPCZ and its Central Committee, will honorably discharge all the tasks given to it. Our rationale is that one can face the future with optimism. And this optimism is substantiated and is free of superstitions and illusions. Its source is the strength and power of the fraternal socialist countries united around the Soviet Union.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

EAST BLOC PEACE STRATEGY OUTLINED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 6, Jun 84 (signed to press 14 May 84)
pp 483-485

[Article by Ernst Krabatsch, main department head for basic questions and planning of the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs: "Securing Peaceful Prospects for Mankind"]

[Text] How can the world be extricated from the current situation so perilous to peace, and how can international relations be radically turned around? It is becoming ever more urgent to ask such questions because, indeed, the situation remains extremely dangerous. The most aggressive forces of imperialism, mainly those of the United States, are not relaxing their confrontation course against real socialism and all progressive forces, their hopeless designs for world domination. The example of Grenada, the bombing of peaceful Lebanese villages, the mines off the Nicaraguan coast--all that is macabre evidence for the policy of violence and military blackmail through which other states are to be dictated Washington's terms. Above all by starting to deploy U.S. nuclear medium-range weapons in the European NATO countries--which are "only" a spearhead of the first-strike potential U.S. imperialism is seeking--they believe they have come much closer to their objective.

One has reckoned without one's host, however. The socialist states allow imperialism no military-strategic superiority. Their words of warning are resolutely being followed up by what has to be done. Their military counter-measures are aimed at not letting their equilibrium get upset. That implies deploying longer-range operational-tactical missiles on GDR territory.

As a result of the ominous policy of the most aggressive imperialist circles, international relations have significantly been exacerbated. Yet does that mean the course of events is irreversible? In no way. There are powerful, influential factors opposing the aggressive imperialist course. Their weight is becoming ever more perceptible. The invincible strength of the states in the socialist community, mainly the USSR, and their active peace policy are the major factor in this.

Hoping for military-strategic superiority has turned out a basic miscalculation by the most aggressive imperialist circles. So it is not astonishing that even among some of the thus far most eager advocates of the up to now biggest NATO armaments program a certain measure of disenchantment is setting in. It is

impossible to ignore the mighty peace movement in the West European states and in the United States itself. There is a growing realization among the broad popular masses that their struggle against the imperialist confrontation and arms buildup course at once also is a struggle against its burdens that are indeed hard on the working people in the capitalist countries. Every ninth West European able to work is unemployed. There are 35 million Americans living below their subsistence minimum. Influential political parties and respected politicians are seeking a distance from the U.S. arms buildup adventure. The Reagan administration, typically, more and more frequently deplores that it is voting all by itself at UN General Assembly and other international meetings.

The socialist states, rather than confining themselves to presenting their just position, are offering a realistic action program to return international relations to calmer tracks. They advocate the limitation of all arms and want them reduced to as low a level as possible--based on the principle of equality and equal security. They have presented concrete ideas about how that can be done even under prevailing conditions. They rely on their tremendous potential and on the fact that the goals of their peace policy conform with the vital interests of all peoples. Calmly and resolutely they are launching new peace initiatives aimed at containing the arms race, returning to detente, and consolidating European and international security. The Budapest Conference communique of the committee of the foreign affairs ministers of the Warsaw Pact states on 19 and 20 April this year,* which explicitly confirmed the peace program contained in the Prague Declaration and the Moscow Declaration of 1983, is another socialist community appeal for a dialogue on the fundamental questions in safeguarding peace.

For such serious and equitable dialogue the socialist countries' initiatives form a solid basis. Of special importance is the recent appeal from the Warsaw Pact states to the NATO member states to conclude a treaty on the mutual renunciation of the use of military force and on the maintenance of peaceful relations.** This initiative provides for preparatory clarifications on the essential aspects of such a treaty through multilateral consultations to facilitate the conclusion of that treaty. Through this appeal the socialist countries at once document their readiness earnestly to examine views expressed in the past by other states on this treaty project. The peoples of Europe and the world are waiting for deeds to eliminate the danger of a nuclear catastrophe; wholly in that sense, the Warsaw Pact states are hoping for a positive response from the NATO member states.

An important step would be to regulate by force of international law the relations between the nuclear powers, as the USSR has proposed. It would be commensurate with the great political responsibility the possession of such weapons implies, and it would reinforce the foundations of world peace. Yet the United States turned it down at once. Following the example of the Soviet Union, all states having nuclear weapons should authoritatively declare their renunciation of making a first use of them. The socialist countries have put forth proposals

*Cf. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 21/22 April 1984, p 5.

**Ibid., 8 May 1984, p 1.

on freezing and reducing armaments budgets, setting up nuclear-free zones and corridors, and truly freeing Europe and the world from chemical weapons. At the start of the second round of the Stockholm Conference, the USSR, backed by the fraternal countries, proposed a complex of far-reaching confidence-building measures, of a political treaty and military nature, which, once agreed on, would go a long way toward diminishing the military confrontation.

In view of these unequivocal facts, it is the height of hypocrisy for Washington trying to make it appear as if the socialist states first had to be convinced of the utility of dialogue. The Reagan administration's rejection of the above mentioned propositions, which are plausible and are therefore attracting more and more international support, its own "offers," unacceptable from the outset, and mainly the further gearing up of the imperialist arms buildup that overshadows everything fit together perfectly. They indicate the most aggressive imperialist forces are unwilling to depart from their arms buildup and confrontation course. Words alone are meant to deceive the peoples about deeds to the contrary.

Reducing nuclear weapons in Europe, the medium-range as well as the tactical ones, till they are completely done away with--this is what the socialist states have resolutely been advocating. It is up to the United States and NATO to remove the obstacles to genuine negotiations the missile deployment has put up, i.e. to stop their deployment and withdraw the first-strike weapons already in place.

The socialist countries and the GDR along with them are aiming all their efforts at sparing the world a nuclear inferno and atomic blackmail. They are dedicated to reaching such accords by way of honest, constructive negotiations, that will get away from confrontation and the arms race and lead to detente, disarmament and mutually advantageous international cooperation. Today, a reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence less conceivable than ever, they do all they can to secure peaceful prospects for mankind.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT EXEMPLIFIED, DISCUSSED

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pp 515-519

[Article by Dr Rudolf Winter, member of the SED Central Committee, general director of the VEB "Fritz Heckert" Machine Tool Combine in Karl Marx Stadt: "Rationalization of Research Work"]

[Text] The speed with which production automation advances worldwide is a characteristic sign of the further accelerating scientific-technical revolution. Only by keeping in step with it and making their own contribution to it can industrial states today think of themselves as being among the leading ones. That also is a constant challenge to our country with its scientific and industrial traditions and its efficient potential. The most recent Leipzig Spring Fair impressively showed that our machine production with its highly automated machinery is up to this challenge. Machine tool construction, facing growing qualitative and quantitative requirements from our country's transition to complex automation and the increasing export requirements, has made clear by what it has to offer that it is meeting the ambitious expectations of numerous users of automation solutions. The newly developed production elements offered by our combine--the VEB "Fritz Heckert" Machine Tool Combine--met with high recognition and were fully accepted by international customers, as they do promise strong impulses for automation. Thereby the combine gave evidence for its intensive efforts and growing ability to conform with the demand raised by Comrade Erich Honecker, "to react fast to new requirements, make the production structure appropriately flexible, put new data of scientific-technical progress rapidly into production, and thus ensure high exports."*

That makes high demands on the working people's political-ideological motivation. Initiative and creativeness, after all, depend on the knowledge what the political and economic grounds are for new tasks and who is benefited by the labor. Especially the engineering and technical cadre face new requirements from these new performance targets. Of them are expected in many respects new ideas, new perspectives, and a high personal dedication. A basic condition for elaborating demanding performance targets that will stimulate creative capacities is a high

*Erich Honecker, "In kampferfüllter Zeit setzen wir den bewährten Kurs des X. Parteitages für Frieden und Sozialismus erfolgreich fort" [In These Times of Struggle We Press Ahead Along the Road to Peace and Socialism Charted by the 10th Party Congress], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1983, p 28.

level of management for scientific-technical work. Notably in collectives mainly engaged in intellectual-creative activity it becomes important that all available potentials are activated and are oriented more effectively than heretofore to the acceleration of scientific-technical progress.

Our Goal: A High Replacement Rate for Products

The point of all these efforts in our combine is to accelerate the speed of developing and producing top products, proper as to demands. Thereby we mean products that, due to invention and design, have a much higher use-value than those that came out before and, compared with them, can be made with much smaller investments of material, energy and working time. An important criterion for the higher use-value of automated machine tools and installations is their high production level. That is largely due to the fact that microelectronics and industrial robot technology are becoming themselves, increasingly, machine tool components. Nor can one do without microelectronics and robot technology in producing the new commodities because that, after all, is one of the basic prerequisites for producing in accordance with ambitious efficiency aspects and for further raising the technological level of production at large. In full conformity with product development, we are aiming our intensive efforts at constantly exploring, developing for production and broadly introducing more efficient technologies and procedures. Only through more intensive R&D can we reach our 1984 goal of ensuring for our chief products more than twenty new and further developments and an innovation rate of roughly 30 percent.

Undoubtedly it is of great economic importance that we devote ourselves with all our strength to the tasks connected with it since the new products in our combine are of a high degree of refinement and are therefore beneficial as far as the materials economy, the quality and the economic results are concerned. By way of refining we already accomplished between 1981 and 1983 reducing the consumption material key for rolling steel by 32 percent and creating the premises for reducing it by another 14 percent this year. Not last because of that, we managed to boost our output in the last 3 years, under altered reproduction conditions, above average, and in 1984 the combines in our collective keep working resolutely in that sense. So we want to contribute to "taking another step toward implementing our party's economic strategy and achieving higher efficiency through new technologies and new products."^{*}

Increased Construction Costs Require New Solutions

In response to market requirements, the production program of the VEB "Fritz Heckert" Machine Tool Combine is being broadened by new developments. Along with universally applicable machine tools, highly automated units already make up the largest part of what we have to offer--usually in specific designs as desired by customers. So mass production clearly is on the downgrade; the longer assembly periods for the intricate automated machines lengthen the production cycle, and design and technological preproduction becomes more expensive. We already have to use more than 30 percent of our R&D capacity in our combine for special designs.

*NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 10/11 March 1984, p 1.

For a continuing high performance development in the combine it is of decisive importance that we cope with these givens. We have therefore developed a clear concept, based on a combine management orientation that came out of a thorough ventilation of the political, economic and scientific-technical requirements in concert with all those collectives on the commitment and expertise of which the processes principally depend. They aim at high growth rates in productivity and efficiency, output and export even while making small numbers of units and with automated machinery on the rise. Important preconditions have already been laid for it:

--Our machine tools can largely be developed and produced through the prefab system. Even when it is a matter of variable products, a certain degree of repetition in mechanical production remains feasible.

--In working on specific parts we are moving more into flexible automation--based on our own products. That makes an efficient manufacture of the needed small and medium-size series possible as well as opposing the tendencies to increase stocks of unfinished products.

--Based on technological research results, great efforts are being made to reduce the time it takes to assemble automation machinery. Though that gives us no rhythm production as in conventional machines, results still are noteworthy.

--We, finally, concentrate our management activities on coping with the steep rise in construction costs through rapidly increasing R&D capacities.

Raising construction capacities is among the most important tasks to be dealt with in our combine for fulfilling and exceeding the planning targets. After lengthy discussions we have achieved the understanding that what matters is to create suitable solutions out of our own capacity. First, we have to intensify our entire R&D process. So the management measures and the initiatives of the design collectives are aimed at raising the proportion of the designers' creative work right at the drawing board. That can be done if we, in particular, make better use still of the opportunities in variable design, work as much as possible with computer programs, and set up computer-aided design jobs.

High Effects from Computer-Aided Design and Preproduction

We expect very much of computer-aided design and preproduction. So we use all chances available to make headway in this field rated, internationally, as strategically important for developing the labor productivity growth rate. Also in other respects its use is of great consequence. For it has been found that the much briefer delivery periods that have become customary on the world market depend on computer-aided design and preproduction. As a combine leaning strongly toward export, we are facing all the requirements resulting from it for us, while we are simultaneously concerned with the material basis for training the cadre in time. After all, it is not only important for the engineers to comprehend the entire economic and political consequence of their new work, which is truly revolutionary in many respects. They must also appropriately focus on the changes affecting their mode of work and working conditions. It does make a difference indeed whether a designer stands at the drawing

board with his paper and pencil to do his designing or sits in front of the screen, carrying on "a dialogue" with it, and develops his solutions that way--and for all that, this is not even the most significant change in the work but only its "external" component, as it were.

All our own experiences thus far with computer-aided design and manufacture have made us all the more aware of its benefits. At the first design jobs set up in the combine, where a designer carries on a dialogue with a computer--called interactive design jobs--parts at ever broader assortments are projected, computed and drawn. At these jobs all the premises are laid for subsequently also carrying out computer-aided preproduction and production. The greatest possible benefit comes from it only when both elements are combined--for which the term cad-cam (computer-aided design--computer-aided manufacture) has come into use.

At one cad-cam job, e.g., in the VEB machine tool factory Zella-Mehlis, multi-spindle drill heads are being designed for special machinery and assembly lines through such dialogue, computed, and the production documentation needed for it is produced through computer automation. Alterations and additions can be made rationally. That facilitates using special components also for manufacturing multi-spindle drill heads as the users might demand.

Through this computer-aided solution throughout--from design to technology to manufacture--a complex rationalization has been accomplished that saves a 14,000-hour construction capacity annually. The labor productivity for work done by computer rose by 350 percent. In our technology, we saved 5,400 hours annually. Much material was also saved, and further reserves are indicated there. Altogether, in this special task the cost/benefit ratio could be made so favorable that the funds invested will flow back in 1.8 years.

Other cases also show that much time can be saved so that it goes much faster for the products to go through their technical preparation and their workshops. And these effects are indeed needed to make the products deliverable in conformity with market demands.

Through a broader application still of computer technology at the designers' and technologists' jobs in the enterprises of our combine great rationalization effects are still possible in technical preparation and production. That is what we are heading for.

Socialist Cooperative Work Taps Significant Reserves

Remarkable initiatives for intensifying the design process have evolved in recent weeks mainly because of the socialist cooperative efforts of the designers together with the pace-setters and innovators in production. A decisive impulse of it is due to the working method of the slideway grinding machines and horizontal drills in the "Sigmund Jaehn" collective in the combine's parent enterprise. Through accurate time studies and the application of optimum technologies, these colleagues were able to improve their performance up to 20 percent within one year while improving the product quality. On the initiative of the comrades in the R&D departments, a broad discussion was carried on about finding reserves to be fully used for the acceleration of the scientific-technical progress, by means of scientific labor organization, in the design departments.

By now several design collectives in the parent enterprise and in the combine's Plauen machine tool factory enterprise have started checking the daily routine by means of time studies and increasing the proportion of creative activities in overall operations.

The first time studies already have pointed out that through improved R&D management one can vastly enhance the results of the design departments. Large reserves still exist, e.g., for increasing the proportion of creative work in a designer's overall operations. Imperative for that is reducing the considerable expenses arising for organizing and coordinating design tasks, for purely administrative work, and for taking care of the assembly collectives that are putting new products into production. There are undoubtedly handles here for the managers as well as the designers for raising the creative performance by way of socialist competition and for meeting, essentially out of their own capacity, the higher criteria for more rapidly developing new products and putting them into production.

From the very beginning we have seen to it that scientific labor organization is undertaken through full consent with the designers themselves. After setting down the ideological terms for the work studies in the design collectives, scientific labor organization collectives were formed for the work of which the competent state manager is fully accountable. Members of these collectives are representatives of the departments to be examined, representatives of the organizational and data processing sectors, and representatives of social organizations. All the collectives are working in accordance with a streamlined method and a coordinated schedule. The time tests are made by the designers themselves, special account being taken of the differences in the activities of designers, the project chiefs, the part designers, the technical draftsmen and the managers. The idea is to use these methods at least for 2 months to get representative results. But some inferences of a generalization potential can already be drawn today:

- By checking the division of labor in the design departments and between them and sectors next to them, prerequisites are laid for vastly reducing coordination and administrative efforts;
- through a higher grade of design documentation it becomes possible coping with assembly tasks while reducing the expenditures, by the designers;
- when the best workers and production innovators, especially those in the assembly sectors, are drawn into constructive considerations early in the game, full attention can be given to the experiences of the workshop and to what has been learned about the most rational production methods, especially, and from the outset, about methods suitable for assembly, in the design documents themselves; and
- the greatest attention is warranted for extending the computer-aided design jobs.

The way we have taken to intensify our efforts, as demonstrated in practice, is the correct direction for solving design tasks, and we have already made good headway. In order to meet the higher demands, however, for automating small and medium-series manufacture, and for the design and production of special machinery and machines, as customers request in particular, we shall, above and beyond the measures here discussed, expand our design capacity still

more: We have already started successfully to assign suitable scientific-technical cadre for the demanding work on the drawing board. Finally we also seek to entrust many more college and technical school graduates with R&D tasks. That opens up a fruitful field of activity in our combine for young R&D personnel, new in professional life, who want to apply what they have learned in technical schools and colleges rapidly and efficiently for the good of our society.

As the long proven cooperation with our partnership enterprise for heavy machine tools in Ivanovo has shown, our ways of expanding our capacities in technical preparation conform with the insights gained there. Further developing the very fruitful cooperation, of advantage to both sides, and fully using the experiences gathered thereby will help us cope with the new scientific-technical requirements placed on our combine in replacing production assortments as needed.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WESTERN GLOBAL VIEWS, POLICIES ATTACKED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 6, Jun 84 (signed to press 14 May 84)
pp 539-544

[Article by Dr Peter Stechmesser, political staff member of the SED Central Committee: "International Relations in the Distorted Image of Anticommunist Myths"]

[Text] The existential challenge to mankind on the whole and to each individual personally today, here in Europe as everywhere else on our planet, is unprecedented: A diminishing group of extremists, making up a mighty imperialist interest group, however, above all in the United States, is about to push the spaceship earth closer and closer toward the vortex that threatens to plunge it into the nuclear abyss.

Despite all diplomatic pseudo-maneuvers the Reagan administration is engaged in to calm things down, its acts suggest no departure from its prevailing arms build-up and confrontation course. Dubious offers addressed at the Soviet Union with much fanfare and other "pacific" gestures can hardly be rated as anything but garnish for what they intend to have the world swallow, really: new and new again insane and destabilizing armaments programs are being served, for the earth and for space. Ranging far into the 1980's and even 1990's, they embody the drive for military superiority over the Soviet Union and socialism, against which a "crusade" is sounded.

Those U.S. monopoly capital forces, especially in the military-industrial complex, that are seeking to escape from their homemade, indeed tremendous, crisis problems of imperialism by way of extreme aggressiveness, are pursuing still more far-reaching goals, though. They have rallied to make their world domination and profit interests prevail through brachial force--not even excepting their capitalist partners or competitors. And to that end they just need a climate of international tension, confrontation and arms buildup. Washington, as the bourgeois LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE commented, in the effort to persevere the "American hegemony as established in 1945," held "world peace hostage" against the "speed-up in the development of other capitalist states." It had "discovered that the Soviet Union constitutes and inadmissible danger to the world, that one had to rearm urgently and declare open hostility to Moscow. Suddenly Europe and Japan, which had thought to have found their place in the world, became a political staging area for another world war."*

*LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, Paris, April 1984.

For all that it is remarkable what insights such a press organ arrives at, prestigious as it is in the political West, about the background for the widely trumpeted myth of a "Soviet threat." By seeking to push communism onto the "ash heap," those backers of the design that is as illusory as it is a threat to mankind are pursuing an objective that has become fairly clear in its contours by now: in the frosty climate of the anticommunist "crusade" proclaimed, the imperialist competitors' gains in political and economic positions that luxuriated under the thaw of international detente are meant to wilt.

Not satisfied with all the burden and cares they have already imposed on the peoples, these spokesmen for a new edition of imperial world domination policy are also painting a somber picture of the future development of international affairs. Only that the peoples must not see it as an admission of their own ominous intentions. Oh no, presumably it is the condition the world itself is in, the opposition between socialism and imperialism, that quasi dictates, inevitably, such a U.S. administration posture. All the social and national advances it does not care for, through which the objective inevitabilities in our era of transition from capitalism to socialism are breaking through, are according to them machinations by the USSR and its helpers.

That way an illusion is constructed that is fraudulent and in part possibly even self-deception: Out of the by no means gratifying position of enmity to historic progress in which, as the strongest power in the capitalist world, U.S. imperialism mainly finds itself, the apologists for a confrontation policy think they can rescue it by "merely" reducing it, verbally, to a hostility against the Soviet Union, whereby they are simultaneously circulating a picture of the world showing the country of the victorious October, not as the chief force for social progress and peace, but instead as a "superpower" generated by chance, through a caprice of history. They want to impose their order and values arbitrarily upon the whole world. The peoples' authentic desire for independence and progress is interpreted, not as being in line with the course of history in our time, but as chaos in a world dominated by one "law"; the struggle "between the two superpowers." History, as well as their own obsolete position in history, thereby presumably having been "outwitted," it then is only one more step to label the "struggle between the two superpowers" a struggle between good and evil. By now Mr Reagan has said quite enough about their distribution in the world.

As the purported and presumed "orientation framework" for assessing world affairs, the pseudotheory of the "struggle between the two superpowers" or of the "blocs" is found right on top of the hit list of imperialist propaganda stereotypes. But it is so fatuously simplistic because of the Messianic coating official Washington has applied to it that it is virtually grotesque and simply primitive. Even within the bourgeois camp, in view of the complexity and intricacies of world events, it meets with reluctance, reservation and criticism. And it surely makes a lot of sense that the peoples have by no means adopted Reagan's concept of good and evil on earth.

Apart from the fact that this is made doubtful by all the many Vietnams and Chiles on the debit account of U.S. imperialism, mainly from their own experiences in our times and their own struggles an increasing number of people under the influence of imperialist mass manipulation are gaining realizations and insights

that contradict the picture of the world suggestively imposed on their minds. Too overwhelming are the facts that indicate where the cold war wind is blowing from that brought on the dark clouds over Europe, especially. Too illuminating and too much in accordance with their own desires, on the other hand, are the propositions and activities by which the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are asserting themselves on behalf of a recovery of the international situation and of arms limitation and disarmament; too compelling is their active commitment to peace.

The Language of Facts

The realization that the threat to world peace is emanating from the most aggressive circles of imperialism, especially in the United States, and must be overcome through active struggle against it, is gaining increasing weight in the peace commitment of millions and millions of people, even in capitalist countries. Willy-nilly, this significant concern on behalf of mankind is being opposed there by the there propagated identification of the "superpowers," the United States and the USSR, through which the peace movement is supposed to be placed at arms' length from the chief force for peace, the Soviet Union, and from the socialist states at large. The seducers and the seduced alike, even without wanting to, attest to the fact that anticomunism, which insinuates that sort of equation, is more yet than the arch-folly of the century Thomas Mann already pronounced it to be.

Anticommunism and anti-Sovietism threaten to become suicidal madness more and more even for those that are letting themselves be guided by them unthinkingly. That is the case where the to be or not to be of all mankind, and hence even the chance to quarrel about various concepts of the world and how to shape it, have meanwhile been placed in doubt. If responsible politicians in Washington consider publicly--a fortiori secretly--nuclear war plans and do not just let that go at words, it simply becomes a precept of the will for survival by all who really seek peace to stand up against it. Then it is indeed still worse than folly to undertake the anticommunist inspired design, use the fire department, as it were, splitting it up by false propaganda alerts, instead of concentrating on the clearly ascertained hotbed of danger. Does this not mean adding oil to the nuclear hotbed as it suits the Washington nuclear strategists?

Facts speak a clear language. All the more cogently when the links are added to the chain that belong to it. Who was it to let the ominous demon out of the bottle, by way of atomic weapons, to become the only one ever to have used them? Who did soon thereafter make atomic power politically useful for "containing communism"? The answer is obvious. Meanwhile it has become public knowledge worldwide that in line with the "Charioteer" plan of mid-1948, dragged out to public notice from the safes of the highest U.S. staffs, 133 atomic bombs were supposed to be dropped on Soviet cities, eight of them on Moscow and seven on Leningrad. Other such plans were designed too, one in 1950, called "Dropshot."* The postwar history is replete with examples of nuclear blackmail by which U.S. imperialism wanted to impose its will on the peoples and gain world domination--as it is still doing with highest aggressiveness. How could all this be equated

*Cf. Nikolai Yakovlev, "How the United States Unleashed the Nuclear Arms Race," "Banish the Danger of Nuclear War," NOVY MIR, Moscow, special issue 1982, pp 2 ff.

with the exact opposite conduct of the USSR? It was second only in developing atomic weapons, as a counter move, leaving nothing untried to push this mankind-threatening demon back into the bottle. Unilaterally, it assumed the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Through many initiatives the Soviet Union is working for having any use of nuclear weapons outlawed under international law as well as for reducing nuclear arms. It is mainly thanks to its existence as the superpower of socialism and peace that none of the imperialist nuclear strategy designs, those that became known as well as those that didn't, have come to be implemented.

It does indeed call for the biggest tricks in manipulation to sweep all these facts under the rug through vacuous analogies--such as the military potentials of the USSR and the United States or their towering positions within the two opposed social systems--and derive from the "opposition between the two superpowers" an "equal blame" for the exacerbation of the international situation. Would you say the workers and the monopolies should be equally blamed for the exploitation because they stand in opposition to each other? Would you say such exploitation can be overcome from a position of "equal distance" from the working class as well as from the monopoly bourgeoisie? Precisely that sort of "logic" is behind the contention that the opposition between the "two superpowers" causes the danger of war and the arms race. Such inevitabilities as the unmerciful competition in hunting for profits, that are behind life in the capitalist world, are projected onto the international level by the proponents of such contentions as if they were universally valid. As, furthermore, over the centuries international events have been marked by the struggle between great imperial powers, determined by power and expansionist interests, so, they suggest, it also applies today and forever. That is an ahistoric dogma giving the lie to reality; its inventors assault both history and the present with it.

The course of events changed fundamentally in 1917. The "phenomenon" of "hegemonic competition" in international relations, it turned out, neither was an "unalterable natural law" nor of universal validity. It is historic in character. In it is crystallized the external effect of those inevitabilities that inhere solely and exclusively in antagonistic social orders and were brought to their climax by imperialism. Whereas in international relations prior to 1917, the power struggle among groups of exploiter classes normally superimposed itself on the class opposition between the exploiters and the exploited, that changed fundamentally after socialism assumed political shape and grew strong. The profound importance of this turning point becomes more evident than ever in the conflicts of present days.

With the October Revolution the central axle in international events shifted toward the conflict between two fundamentally opposed social orders, one of which had by then abolished "class contradiction within the nation." The socialist state's interests therefore--to stay with Marx--no longer assume a position of hostility to other nations.*

*Cf. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "Communist Manifesto," "Werke" (Works) Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 479.

That land that decisively, with untold sacrifices, helped liberate the peoples from fascism, would then also after 1945 perform inestimable achievements for the peace and progress on behalf of all peoples. That land which always reacted only, as evidence shows, when forced to U.S. initiatives in developing new weapons systems--be it nuclear arms or ICBM's, nuclear submarines or MIRV's--however always has been and is today the initiator, when it is a matter of peace, disarmament and international cooperation. In a society that has abolished exploitation, where the people has taken the power in its own hands--in this society of real socialism--there are no classes, no strata, no interests that could lead to war or expansion. In the form of the Soviet Union a state arose and gained its world reputation of today exclusively from its own laborious endeavors, which pursues its interests, not in opposition to but in conformity with the basic interests of all peoples. That is impressively brought to the awareness of the people especially today, relative to the crucial issue for humanity, the question of war or peace.

Whatever the world outlook and the social position--no one in the world who advocates the freezing of nuclear arms and the renunciation of the first use of atomic weapons, and advocates that all nuclear powers make the prevention of nuclear war the chief concern of their policy, can credibly say of himself at the same breath, as it were, that he is in a "position of equal distance" from the Soviet Union and the United States. For seeking a distance from the USSR would mean seeking a distance from one's own aspirations and hopes. These are, after all, the proposals and initiatives brought forth by the USSR and turned down by the U.S. government. "We are always convinced proponents of halting and reversing the arms race," that, according to Konstantin Chernenko, is the USSR position. "That is the aim of the whole complex of proposals submitted by the Soviet Union. Freezing nuclear weapons arsenals at once, limiting and greatly reducing strategic arms, radically lowering the level of nuclear confrontation in Europe, preventing the militarization of space, and banning and destroying chemical weapons--these and other measures aimed at the averting of war danger are dictated by life itself. They are realistic and equally conform to the interests of all states and the demands and hopes of the people."* And the position of the Reagan administration? Its answers--to refer to some from the most recent past--consist of "Star War Programs" and of mining the waters around Nicaragua, of rejecting negotiations on outlawing the militarization of space and of deploying new U.S. nuclear first-strike weapons in West European countries, the crown witnesses, as it were, for the designs by Washington for "limited nuclear war."

Against the Hypnosis of Helplessness

No doubt: "Mankind has no other choice left but creeping back from the edge of the Faustian abyss and moving toward eliminating the nuclear arms race, better, despite all difficulties, than eliminating the human race." Yet does this, as the author of this article in a U.S. journal contends, mean freeing the world of all ideology?** No such "way out" exists. What mankind does have to get

*"Answers by Konstantin Chernenko to an Appeal by Leading Personalities in the Socialist International," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 5 April 1984, p 1.

**Arthur Schlesinger Jr., "Foreign Policy and the American Character," FOREIGN AFFAIRS, New York, Fall 1983, p 15.

rid of indeed, however, is that ideology by the most aggressive imperialist circles that expresses itself in peace-threatening anticommunist "crusade projects" and world domination designs which, as LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE put it, do not shy away from making world peace a "hostage."

Ever since Lenin, the USSR and the other socialist states have advocated conducting the conflict between socialism and capitalism while excluding military clashes and, to that end, the peaceful coexistence between the states in the two opposing social orders. No one can eliminate the opposition between socialism and capitalism. Incompatible and unsuspensionable also are, as an expression of the opposing interests, their opposite ideologies. To carry on the confrontation between the systems under peaceful conditions, without war, has, for all that, always been a fundamental interest of the peoples exercising the power in the socialist countries as of all other peoples. And that more so than ever today. The socialist states therefore are against "turning the contest of ideas into a confrontation between states and peoples and measuring the potentials of the social weapons systems against the readiness to use them."* Thus it logically follows from the Marxist-Leninist approach when Erich Honecker says: "Today, when nothing can be more important than protecting mankind from annihilation in a nuclear inferno, the Leninist ideas of peaceful coexistence are more timely and more attractive than ever."**

The active and mobilizing struggle of the socialist community for peace, detente, disarmament and international cooperation is eloquent testimony to that they are by no means guided by an ideologically conditioned narrowness that would exclude the basic interests of all peoples and countries--though that is what bourgeois propaganda asserts. Quite on the contrary. In the creative spirit of Marxism-Leninism more clearly than ever the fact is expressed today that the struggle for safeguarding world peace is part and parcel of the historic mission of the workers class. It conforms to this spirit that Erich Honecker called it a precept of the hour and issued the appeal "that all political and social forces that honestly want peace cooperate, regardless of diverse political programs, ideological positions, and religious convictions, overcoming class barriers and all that separates them, to spare the peoples the catastrophe of nuclear war."***

Those bourgeois ideologues who are preaching the myth of the "hegemonic struggle between the superpowers" indeed hardly permit the peoples any grounds for hope. To place them under such a hypnosis of helplessness, however, precisely is in the interest of the ultrareactionary forces of imperialism. Fortunately, one of the two superpowers in the world, the Soviet Union, is a superpower whose state--as that of other socialist countries--rests on the organic unity of peace and socialism, a superpower which has to be given the main credit for there being an approximate military-strategic equilibrium between the USSR and the United States, the Warsaw Pact and NATO, which is being maintained and which sobering the warmongers, a superpower, finally, whose interests coincide with all peoples' need for peace, who are therefore powerfully being buttressed.

*Yuri Andropov, "CPSU Central Committee Plenum Speech (November 1982), NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 23 November 1982, p 6.

**PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, No 4, 1984, p 436.

***EINHEIT, No 5, 1983, p 426.

The danger of war, the burdens of the arms race, the anxieties of men are not results, imposed by destiny, of the "struggle between the superpowers" the peoples would have to submit to more or less helplessly. No, this war danger can be surmounted through the international correlation of forces if all who honestly want peace actively promote peace. From the awareness that this task can be realized confidence and courage grow to work all the more actively and persistently for the safeguarding of peace despite or, in fact, because of the dark clouds that have moved up. That reinforces the realization that when peace and war are on the scales the work of each individual person and of each country makes a difference; it may not make all the difference, yet it counts. And that particularly also applies to each honest person's work, in integrity, for the all-round strengthening of the GDR which, together with the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community, actively helps as best it can in implementing the joint peace policy of the Warsaw Pact countries.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CURRENT SOCIALISM'S REVOLUTIONARY ROLE ASSESSMENT REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 6, Jun 84 (signed to press 14 May 84)
pp 565-566

[Review by Prof Dr Reinhard Mocek, dean of the philosophy faculty, Martin Luther University in Halle/Saale, of book "Vom Sinn revolutionaeren Handelns--Grundfragen der marxistisch-leninistischen Philosophie" [On the Meaning of Revolutionary Action--Basic Questions of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy] by Erich Hahn, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1983]

[Text] A small volume, but full of content. Erich Hahn, chairman of the scientific council for Marxist-Leninist philosophy, calls for pondering a decisive ideological issue in our struggle, our life, our plans for the future: What actually is revolutionary in what we are doing today? Who has not been asked this insistent question that will not settle for a reference to some "revolutionary romanticism" which had now been replaced by hard daily work altogether fairly unromantic? Someone who asks that question is correct in not being content finding everyday life called revolutionary as such because normally he will take for granted that one has to look for what is revolutionary right in everyday life as it can be achieved only through great elan and dedication. And that is indeed the core of the question about what is revolutionary: In one sense it is not confined to the past but is found just as much in the effort in solving daily tasks, yet then again, one must not attach the great word (and value) of revolutionary to all and everything.

The author--and who would deny it--finds what is revolutionary today in the world shaping and changing role and task of socialism, crystallized in a precise strategic concept, in the mobilization of the working people for fulfilling our ambitious goals. With regard to that he also defines the concept of the meaning of life and action: It consists in making conscious the personal contribution the individual can make to this great social objective. What I find most important and suggestive in it is that this question about individual meaning is understood as a permanent process of determining one's own position in life, the mental absorption of new objective givens, and the requirements placed on personal conduct arising from that.

That that takes place without any conflict and with nothing but sunshine would be a naive assumption. Facing the tasks that come with the shaping of developed socialism requires the exertion of individual capacities and constant learning. Fitness tests have to be passed, possible failures have to be coped

with. It may well be for that reason that Erich Hahn makes the point that meaningful life and action should not be confused with smugness. "It is not a matter of feeling comfortable, that the world appears more beautiful to someone who finds himself in harmony with the course of things in the world because he has found an fine, sound and acceptable answer to the question about the meaning of life." Rather, any answer to the question about the meaning of life serves the "practical development of societal relations and the coping with the tasks arising from it" (p 50). I would however take the dialectical relation between intelligent action and feeling comfortable a step farther. It is, after all, no psychological subtlety for us Marxist-Leninists deliberately to sett off the feeling of comfort from some stagnant complacency, that still not yet extinct self-satisfaction in ordinary life that fails to inquire into the prerequisites and foundations of what has thus far been achieved and does not care that what appears self-evident today still be ensured for tomorrow as well. "Feeling comfortable" with regard to the meaning of revolutionary action should consist rather of committed confidence, of the knowledge to be needed because much still has to be done. That, after all, is the sense of the quotations in the work from the young builders of socialism, which document impressively how dynamic the sense orientation in our young generation is.

The sense of revolutionary action does not only bring societal interests into play. You cannot answer the question about the purpose of life and action merely in terms of the socially conditioned tasks, following, perhaps, the motto: Well, I see it's necessary, so I shall do what is asked. That sort of an externalized concept of meaning is what enemies frequently attribute to the Marxist-Leninists. Naturally we do not deny that a sense of meaning in our time cannot be concretely determined unless one knows the social circumstances, the "signs of the time." Yet a meaning of life and action must be "self-fulfilling." "For my life to become meaningful," the author says, "I must deliberately opt for something. That is the supreme prerequisite. Yet no more than that. Because then the question immediately arises what it is I am opting for" (p 99). That requires of the individual that he engage in efforts and troubles of his own to work out a sense of purpose for his life through socially significant tasks.

The charm of the publication precisely is that the question about meaning is elaborated relative to specific audiences. The ambitious volume combines four lectures Erich Hahn gave before the visual arts section of the GDR Academy of Arts during an experience exchange with FDJ study year propagandists within the framework of the "Marxist Week" at Hamburg and other FRG universities. The major points made are distributed accordingly.

The first lecture connects what is revolutionary and ordinary and the connection between the performance principle and socialist justice with many suggestions aiming at the observation how much room our socialist society offers for human fitness tests. About the problem of performance and justice the author remarks that the performance principle is "the crucial link in the chain of the driving forces," and the "point of intersection in the dialectic between ideal and reality, and between the individual and society" (p 26). That emphasis is certainly cogent as it also refutes the notions that the performance principle either is a drab addition to real socialism or, at best, a theoretical peripheral phenomenon that is, however, of great practical importance.

The polemic against bourgeois notions--a main aspect of the other three lectures--also strikes home. The quotations from non-Marxist literature are not only well chosen but are, above all, functionally well placed along the thread of argument. The author goes into the offensive on the problem of contemporary capitalism's social crisis and meaning and value crisis and the attempts by its ideologues to relieve the capitalist debit account of these crises in turning them into a world crisis so as to blame, not imperialism, but socialism for all that, for a pervasive "functionalization" and hence for the draining of meaning from human existence: "Which social system then, if not capitalism, produced, in the form of the capitalist wage laborer, the most thorough and complete 'functionalization' of man for a preassigned purpose, for making profits? That the struggle against that system and for a world in which production is no longer the purpose of men, but man is the purpose of production, has entailed, over generations, deprivation, sacrifice and self-denial for countless individuals in the working class--that does not argue against the meaning of this struggle but for the inhumanity of the state of affairs that produces it" (pp 101-102).

Erich Hahn takes up also a few questions that we have had some trouble with in the past because the answers furnished were all too humdrum. I am mainly referring here to the problem that acknowledging objective inevitabilities behind the process of history, if interpreted mechanistically or deterministically, is bound to lead to factually denying the ability to find individual meaning. Then man is forced into self-denial--the very opposite of what socialist society needs and works for. Setting free all individuals' creativeness is wanted so that the shaping of socialist society constantly improves in quality.

Isolating history from historically acting men is something for which the classic authors always had nothing but scorn and mockery. "History is nothing but the activity of man pursuing his goals,"* Marx and Engels wrote. Those goals nevertheless are not "set" arbitrarily, but they result from the circumstances under which these people live. Yet action alone shapes history, our meaningful revolutionary action being aimed at the first social order worthy of man in all human history thus far. That is what Erich Hahn is contending for, contending for the best cause in the world.

*Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "The Holy Family," "Werke" (Works), Vol 2, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1957, p 98.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

JUNE 1984 EINHEIT: SUMMARIES OF MAJOR ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 6, Jun 84 (signed to press 14 May 84)
pp 482, 574-575

[Summary of article by Helmut Semmelmann, graduate agriculturalist, department chief in the SED Central Committee; pp 491-497]

[Text] Cooperative Farmers Struggle for the Implementation of our Party's Economic Strategy

Agriculture is making an important contribution to the implementation of the economic strategy issued by the 10th party congress. Pursuing the main task course in the future demands also of agriculture a significant performance growth while achieving a favorable cost/benefit ratio. What are the consequences of it? How can we better still tap the potentials of cooperative property, notably by deeper cooperation?

[Summary of article by Bruno Lietz, graduate economist, member of the SED Central Committee, minister fo agriculture, forestry and foodstuffs; pp 498-504. A translation of this article is published in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Effective Management is Growing More Profitable and More Urgent

With many clever ideas and through diligent everyday labor the cooperative farmers and agricultural workers are struggling for greater productivity and efficiency. What is the importance to it of the farm price reform? How does it promote all-inclusive intensification, and how does it deepen economic relations and economic thinking? How does it stimulate a better use of the soil and a high materials and funds economy, creating better conditions for performance rating and for enforcing socialist industrial management?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Peter Kundler, director of the Muencheberg Research Center for Soil Fertility of the GDR Academy for Agricultural Sciences; pp 505-508. A translation of this article is published in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Maximum Yield Concepts

The aim of the maximum yield concepts is to use the soil as intensively as possible and extract maximum yields from it. How do they further the scientific-technical progress and utilize the best farming experiences? Which factors have to be taken account of in elaborating and applying them? What examples are on hand for successful work with maximum yield concepts, and what implications do they suggest?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Kurt Krambach, research area chief at the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Sociology of the SED Central Committee Academy for Social Sciences; pp 509-514]

[Text] The Socialist Way of Life in the Village

Beautifying the village still more, it being the home of the cooperative farmers and their youth, is and remains a life's task for many generations. What are the priorities today in further village development and in developing life in the village? Which role is played in the shaping of the socialist way of life by the specific labor conditions in agriculture, the cooperative economic units, and the various proven farming traditions? How are these tasks being coped with in the process of real socialist democracy and by way of local development concepts?

[Summary of article by Dr Rudolf Winter, member of the SED Central Committee, general director of the VEB "Fritz Heckert" Machine Tool Combine in Karl Marx Stadt; pp 515-519. A full translation of this article is published in the present JPRS issue]

[Text] Rationalization of Research Work

With reference to examples from the VEB "Fritz Heckert" Machine Tool Combine, possibilities are discussed, in particular, for the rationalization of design projects for the purpose of meeting the requirements for a high rate of production updating. Experiences with computer-aided design and production are conveyed, as are the consequences from the use made of scientific labor organization.

[Summary of article by Hans Sattler, member of the GDR Council of Ministers, head of the office for youth affairs under the GDR Council of Ministers; pp 520-526]

[Text] The Youth Law as a Tool for Socialist Youth Policy

Assessing the results in the implementation of the youth law the People's Chamber passed 10 years ago, the article explains the salient points in the continued application of this tool of socialist youth policy for conducting political dialogue, developing youth initiatives in the economy, especially in coping with scientific-technical tasks, and shaping the socialist way of life. The youth promotion plans aimed at that and the responsibility of the leaders derived from it.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Rolf Loether, task force chief at the Central Institute for Philosophy of the GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 527-532]

[Text] On the Essence and Nature of Man

The old philosophic question, "What Is Man?" gains new importance in socialist society. From there, the following matters are dealt with: The productive interrelation among the various sciences (medicine, psychology, pedagogics and so forth) that say something about man; man as a natural and social being; the variety of human individuals; and human nature in today's bourgeois ideology.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Joachim Herrmann, director of the Central Institute for Ancient History and Archeology at the GDR Academy of Sciences; member of the GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 533-538]

[Text] Becoming Human in Our Scientific World-Outlook

Science data today confirm, deepen and expand our understanding of becoming human as a biological-historic process. They are diametrically opposed to any speculative notions by bourgeois ideologues. That is demonstrated by means of latest facts, mainly about the development of man out of the animal kingdom and the genesis of the productive forces.

[Summary of article by Dr Peter Stechmesser, political staff member of the SED Central Committee; pp 539-544. A full translation of this article is published in the present JPRS issue]

[Text] International Relations in the Distorted Image of Anticomunist Myths

As if they had not imposed enough burdens and cares on the peoples, the originators of the imperialist confrontation and arms buildup policy are also painting a somber picture of the future development of international affairs. In order not to reveal it, however, as an admission of their own ominous intentions, they are using the anticomunist and anti-Soviet myth of the "struggle between the super-powers" that distorts all reality. Unmasking and refuting that deserves a high place value in the peoples' struggle for safeguarding peace against the extremist imperialist forces.

[Summary of article by Dr Edmund Roehner, chief science assistant at the Institute for International Relations of the GDR Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence; pp 545-550]

[Text] The Policy of Imperialist Intervention in the Near East

What are the aims of the Reagan administration in escalating military force in the Near East, extending the U.S.-Israel "strategic alliance," and intervening against Lebanon? The growing responsibility of all peoples and states concerned with the peaceful settlement of the Near Eastern conflict.

[Summary of article by Dr Michael Roesler, assistant at the Research Institute on Imperialism, SED Central Committee Academy for Social Sciences; pp 551-557]

[Text] Structural Change and Structural Crises in the Capitalist World

Change of economic structures at the national and international scope as a requirement for the development of modern productive forces. What makes enforcing structural changes crisis-ridden in capitalism, and why do structural crises mount right now in the capitalist economy to an unprecedented degree? What are the economic and social consequences of the structural crises and what does the reactionary character look like in the state monopoly endeavors to cope with structural problems?

5885
CSO: 2300/541

HUNGARY

VGMIS MODERATE MANPOWER SHORTAGES IN INDUSTRY, CONSTRUCTION

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 27 Jan 84 p 1

[Text] According to the analysis by the State Office of Wage and Labor, during the first quarter of the year, the number of people employed in the production branches decreased by 1.4 percent compared with the same period in 1983, exceeding the plan. The higher than planned decrease in the number is derived from the 3 percent decrease in the number of workers of agricultural cooperatives. Within industry, there was an increase in the number of workers in the electric-energy, chemical and foodstuff industries. In the construction industry, there was a less than average decrease in the number of building contractors and a considerably higher than average decrease in the number of workers in the design and investment enterprises.

In contrast to the planned, small increase, there was a decrease in the number of workers in the state grazing lands and forestry management and there was a similar decrease in the number of people employed in transportation-communication and in commerce.

As a sum total, it can be concluded that there was no essential change in the basic trends of employment and labor force management and, at the same time, there was a modification in the character of the process. Namely, in industry and in the construction industry, the decrease in the number of workers is expected to be smaller than last year and in agricultural cooperatives, as a continuation of the trend begun during the second half of 1983, a decrease can be expected.

In industry and the construction industry, the increase in the number of enterprise economic work partnerships plays a role in moderating the decrease in the number of workers. Namely, the locally available possibility for additional work and earnings is a great help to the enterprises in retaining the work force.

In spite of all these, the decisive majority of the enterprises continue to report a scarcity of workers. According to a survey of about 40 enterprises, the missing work force is most frequently replaced by overtime, by organization of enterprise economic work associations, internal regroupings and the creation of side jobs. Thus, the lack of workers causes no production losses.

The majority of the industrial and construction industry management units have changed to the 40 hour work week already during the first quarter. In the enterprises involved, the shortened work time is generally accompanied by a 2.5-4.5 percent decrease in the basic work time of the physical laborers. The time lost must be replaced through their own resources which increasingly induces the enterprises to open up their reserves. As a result, considerably more enterprises than last year are planning to reexamine their work norms, to tighten their productivity requirements and to increase the proportion of those paid for piece work. In the interest of their goals, they are planning several regulations concerning plant and work organizations. In addition, they are paying increased attention to improving the workshop discipline.

2473

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HUNGARY

PROBLEM OF ANTI-SEMITISM TODAY DISCUSSED

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 30 Jun 84 p 11

[Interview with Gyorgy Szaraz, by Erzsebet Eszeki: "Is It Worth It To Climb Up the Ivory Tower?"; date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Question] Do you feel a kind of urge to prove that it is even possible to talk about questions declared most sensitive?

[Answer] The phrase--it is possible--actually conveys my conviction that we must talk about these questions. You mentioned my book on anti-semitism. I do not like it when there is too much talk about it. It had success and elicited a good response indeed but this is not--or not entirely--due to my success as a writer: it simply "came at the right time," destroying a disintegrating, meaningless and detrimental taboo no one dared to touch--for unwarranted cautiousness, I think. This is not success of a writer; may be it is an accomplishment if it is true that this topic is discussed now with less heat and more openness. Just recently, an abridged version of my study, together with Istvan Bibó's great study of 1948, appeared in an anthology. Anyone can see that 25 years ago Bibó said almost everything that must be said.

[Question] How do you look at yourself: as a playwright, an essayist, or publicist? At any rate, is this important?

[Answer] To me, it is unimportant. I do all of these, according to opportunity, my mood, and sometimes my urge to help. Value judgement, not to speak of ranking, is not my job.

[Question] It may happen that the name of Gyorgy Szaraz reminds some people today of the Romanian pamphlet writer Ion Lancranjan rather than, say, your historical dramas. Are you not disturbed by this?

[Answer] I am. But perhaps it is apparent from the foregoing that this is not a question of vanity for me. Fame acquired through such debates is mostly outside of literature, thus I can value a possible popularity only at the appropriate level. I would not hesitate to give it up. I

considered my answer to Ion Lancrajan's as a necessary task. The fact that he attacked me as well because of a drama of mine that revives a tragic episode of joint Hungarian-Romanian history, would not have bothered me. But the attack involved my people as a whole; indeed, it is my conviction that it was against the interests of two peoples. I felt that I was able to answer, thus it was my duty to answer. Incidentally, popularity achieved in such a way is not so unequivocal either. Many people thought that the tone of my answer was too tolerant: one must strike back, not argue. But the tone is also important in value judgment. In addition, it is my conviction that if one has sound arguments, then the style may also play a part in convincing the unbiased reader. But such things are not the writer's responsibility, not even when they are connected with my being a writer.

9414
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HUNGARY

LACK OF INDEPENDENT TV NEWS CORRESPONDENT NETWORK FAULTED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 May 84 p 12

[Article by Robert Friss: "Behind the News at HIRADO, One of TV's Most Watched Programs"]

[Text] VREMJA in the Soviet Union, AKTUELLE KAMERA in the German Democratic Republic, TAGESSCHAU in the Federal Republic of Germany, ZEIT IM BILD in Austria. But no matter what its name is, one thing is certain, namely, that there is scarcely a television station in the world which would not broadcast a TV news journal, i.e., we arrive in Budapest: HIRADO.

HIRADO [THE NEWS] is one of Hungarian Television's most watched programs. According to estimates, four to five million viewers watch the three daily, one-hour editions and particularly the "primary" 30-minute HIRADO at 7:30 in the evening. And this news journal is on the air 260 broadcast days a year. From this is to be seen that overtaking the daily newspapers HIRADO is the country's number one news source. And, by way of introduction, we should note that the Hungarian HIRADO is perhaps the "daily journal" with the smallest staff in the world; under the command of editor-in-chief Mrs Jozsef Matuz, altogether 150 persons, from the car drivers to the editors, technicians and commentators, prepare the product.

Successes, Troubles

There has been success, and it is to be found daily in spite of periodic criticisms. This success still does not give reason for closer acquaintance with the work of HIRADO, but rather the important role which HIRADO fills in news exchange and in the international news traffic. Because it is hardly necessary to say it: it is by no means a matter of indifference what the critical eyes of viewers see evenings in picture and in sound.

Ferenc Horvath, assistant editor-in-chief:

"Shall we begin with the troubles? Our greatest difficulty is the complete lack of our own foreign correspondent network. An independent correspondent of Hungarian Television works only in Moscow. The viewer, of course, does not perceive this since a familiar face appears frequently from foreign capital cities. We must be aware, however, that these journalists are

correspondents for various newspapers, the MTI [Hungarian Telegraph Agency] and radio, and enormous organizational work was and is necessary for them to work for us, too. Not to mention how hard it is to select from the fifty Hungarian journalists working abroad those few who are not only qualified but will undertake the assignment, and who are willing to master this separate profession."

Naturally, the lack of its own correspondents only becomes really striking and a peculiar feature of Hungarian Television, if we know that Soviet, East German and Czechoslovakian television works with a very extensive correspondent network and reaches every corner of the world from which it is worthwhile to inform directly the millions of viewers. Often outstripping the large international news services, time and again they are the first to provide on-the-spot film coverage of important events, and we may become the witnesses to this on the domestic TV screens, thanks precisely to the exchange of news.

And it is here that the exchange of news becomes really interesting and important. Because for lack of correspondents, in a decisive majority of cases, there remains what is broadcast through Intervision and Eurovision and the visual material--secured here at Freedom Square--on which outside correspondents taken from newspapers and radio then give independent commentary. From time to time, however, the reports of the Hungarian Telegraph Agency serve as raw material. It is true that the latter is only one of the solutions: late in the morning the telephoning begins so that the proper sound for the visual material prenotified through the large news services arrives in time. Because what good does it do the viewer if on television in the evening he only hears what he can otherwise read in the newspapers or hear on the radio the next day? What is important is the independent voice, which, it goes without saying, the viewer interested in politics appreciates.

Necessary to Exchange

Thus the visual material and the film reports--already announced in the morning--from the four corners of the world come in, and the ordered commentaries also arrive. Small adjustment on the picture so that the text and what is seen are in conformity--this is the bulk of the early-evening work--so that, if often in the manner of a mule, independent and authentic information is made ready.

But what is the news exchange, which gives life to TV, as in details?

"At noon Eurovision, the "mutual TV" of the West European television companies, at three in the afternoon UPI, at three-fifteen the television organization of the socialist countries, Intervision, at five Eurovision again, a half hour before the sound of the HIRADO sign-on, however, both international organizations--from time to time--appear with the latest news and recommended visual material, a 30-40 minute news package along international lines. Still another possibility is the Soviet VREMJA; at the last minute we are able to gather important news material from this program."

The one from whom we learn all this is Annamaria Csapo, one of those who maintains contact with foreign countries through the Prague central office. Their assignment is to place orders for news reports on the basis of a summary supplied with several lines of information transmitted by telex in the morning. Under their direction, Peter Zoltan and fixing technician Ferenc Biro put them onto a video recorder.

They are on duty right now; they keep a close watch simultaneously on several black-and-white and color television screens, when each news block begins and ends. Later on, the editors select the fixed films: what the viewers finally see at 7:30 in the evening or on the later editions, and what can be omitted, which perhaps other programs--television weekly journals, background programs or the Parabola--can utilize.

The exchange of news is, of course, a two-sided affair. There is that which Hungarian television receives, and there is that which we offer to the world at large. And here the facts really speak for themselves: last year HIRADO received and broadcast three thousand news reports from Intervision and Eurovision.

In comparison with these three thousand news reports, the 555 events here at home, about which a report was prepared and which were taken over from us, seem paltry. Thanks to Intervision, viewers were able to see the greater part of them in the socialist countries, but many were broadcast in Western Europe and in other parts of the world, too. In the last analysis, it is impossible to gauge what picture of us the world receives, because there are no accounts of which television broadcasts our material. What is a fact: the Western television companies are more interested in accidents and unusual events--beyond that, they naturally accept every news report which the Hungarian television authorities prepare about current, significant political conferences in Budapest.

Nevertheless, let us look at the statistics for January of this year! One could see film about the Budapest role of Kenicsiro Kobajasi abroad, several international sports events, the developments in the robbery of a painting, the most recent news about domestic scientific matters, or the sad occurrence in Zalaegerszeg, the explosion of a bomb from World War Two. And there appeared, for example, on the TV screen--certainly on the basis of order--the case of the quadruplet calves of Abony.

What Do We See?

As far as the outgoing news is concerned, it is said self-critically at the TV station: it might be possible to offer more and better. The domestic socio-economic life makes so many themes topical which can command interest abroad, too. New forms are being sought so that it might be possible to assume a greater role in news exchange, although there is no getting away from it: our country's size and number of inhabitants limit this.

And now let us return to what we receive from abroad. HIRADO is often forced to buy a pig in a poke; when it orders a news report announced in

advance, it does not know, it cannot know, what the picture shows. In the case of a strike, for instance, an interview about the strike, about a demonstration, or perhaps on-the-spot photographs. It must be ordered in advance, however, because there are news services which, for lack of applicants buyers, recipients, do not forward material perhaps interesting for us. The viewer, on the other hand, is hard to please; he watches television in order to see as much on-the-spot reporting as possible from around the world. Yet if the news is illustrated only by a map or a photograph, there is not always much the editor can do about it.

At any rate, the solution may be the buildup of a staff of independent correspondents for television, too. Yet this is not precisely a cheap diversion. After all, one person is not enough here; you need a correspondent, you need a cameraman, and anyone who has already seen a small staff working abroad, wet with perspiration, lugging kilos of equipment, recognizes that you certainly need a third person as well. And this is already two or three times the money, the expense--from the airplane to the hotel. Thus we are hardly mistaken if--as it is said today at the television station--we seek the possibility of advancement in the international pooling of resources. However, broader cooperation is possible, above all, with the television stations of the socialist countries. Let us again listen to Ferenc Horvath:

"We are striving for a mutual improvement both quantitatively and qualitatively in the socialist countries' news releases about each other. We see the potential for this primarily in the expansion of the exchange of rotating teams, and in this there would undoubtedly be a need for greater flexibility, i.e., it should be easier to adjust ourselves to the events and to the demands of viewers. In any case, we would like to increase on HIRADO the amount of material which shows daily life in the socialist countries and which gives a real picture of the culture and economy of neighboring countries. The attainment: the staff exchanges are not limited to narrowly considered protocol events. For this we are striving to create the most favorable conditions for the foreign colleagues.

To the Signoff

Nevertheless, it is perhaps worthwhile again and again to raise the question which has been the order of the day for a long time: would it not be advisable, in addition to the foregoing, to establish foreign correspondent headquarters by pooling resources with the socialist countries. With suitable technical personnel and with constantly changing correspondents who arrive for the events. Because a joint technical base would immediately facilitate and render cheaper the activity of dispatched correspondents. All this would contribute to the ability of the viewers of the cooperating countries, thus the Hungarians, too, to receive at first hand a real picture from the politically moving corners of the world. Only by this pooling of resources may it be possible to decrease the defenselessness which more or less afflicts the domestic viewer, when he is curious about a piece of news which some large news service did not cover because it was not worthwhile for it from a political standpoint.

Work checkered with troubles, results and successes alike is that of the news journals, as far as the narrower domain of their activity, the international exchange of news, is concerned. We cannot abandon the exchange of news, and the staff here may only be tranquil if the viewers at the end of HIRADO contentedly accepts the signoff, if every day he obtains fresh pictures from the world surrounding him.

12327
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HUNGARY

NEW WORK RULES FOR SPORTSMEN PUBLISHED

Budapest MUNKAUGYI KOZLONY in Hungarian 11 Jun 84 pp 135-136

/Article by Dr Albert Racz: "Decree No 10/1984 (V. 27.) ABMH of the Chairman of the State Office of Wage and Labor Affairs Concerning Some Questions of Labor Relations of Workers in the Sportsmen's Sphere"

/Text/ In agreement with the interested ministers, with the chairman of the National Office for Sports and Physical Education, as well as the National Council of Trade Unions, the National Council of Consumer Cooperatives, the National Council of Industrial Cooperatives and the National Council of Producer Cooperatives, I order the following.

Sec 1

- (1) The employer /item (c), para (2) of Labor Code V. 99.--except for the self-employed/ can establish a work relation with at most 20 soccer players performing as a sports club in divisions 1 and 2 of the national championship as well as with 20 sportsmen (hereinafter together: sportsman) possessing the qualification of the international division. The sports club designates the sportsman for the establishment of such a sphere.
- (2) The sportsman's work relation can be set up for a defined period of no more than 5 years.

Sec 2

- (1) The employer, if it is not a sportsman's sports club, appoints the sportsman to the sports club in accordance with the agreement entered into with the sports club. The sports club exercises the employer laws--taking into consideration those stated in section V. 39 of the Labor Code--with the appointed sportsman.
- (2) The sports club determines the regulations pertaining to the sports-club activity of the appointed sportsman--taking into account the guiding principles published by the chairman of the National Office for Sports and Physical Education.
- (3) The sports club's own sportsman can be employed in the sportsman's sphere if, according to a separate rule of law, the wage fund allowance covers this.

Sec 3.

(1) The sportsman's personal basic wage

- a) must be fixed between 4,000 and 7,000 forints monthly in the case of a sportsman qualified for the international division as well as a soccer player performing in division 1 of the national championship
- b) and between 3,000 and 6,000 forints monthly in the case of a soccer player performing in division 2 of the national championship.

(2) The employer remits the net wages of the sportsman appointed to the sports club to the OTP /National Savings Bank/ account of the sports club; the sports club takes care of its payment and its settlement as well as the keeping of records on a personal record page.

Sec 4.

(1) Beyond the personal basic wage prescribed in sec 3, the sportsman cannot receive any other kind of remuneration from the employer--including the bonus and the yearend share; he cannot establish a second work relation or other legal relation aimed at work performance, and he cannot pursue gainful employment.

(2) The restriction defined in para (1) does not apply to benefits which can be given with regard to sports activity on the basis of a separate rule of law by the sports club.

Sec 5

The sportsman--on the basis of special permission from the chairman of the National Council for Sports and Physical Education--can, by way of exception outside the workforce framework defined in sec 1, be employed in the sportsman's sphere.

Sec 6

This decree takes effect 1 July 1984. Simultaneously, statute no 10/1980. (VI. LL.) of the Labor Ministry concerning some questions of the labor relations of workers in the sportsman's sphere as well as joint directive no 105/1980. (Publishing House of Technical Literature 9.) of the Labor Ministry, the Finance Ministry and the National Council for Sports and Physical Education concerning some questions of the employment of sportsmen become invalid.

(signed) Dr Albert Racz,
undersecretary,
chairman
of the State Office of Wage and Labor Affairs

Order

no 105/1984. (Publishing House of Technical Literature 9.) ABMH of the chairman of the State Office of Wage and Labor Affairs concerning the establishment of wages and the employment of individual sportsmen

(The interested parties received it directly)

HUNGARY

FOLK DANCE CLUBS DESCRIBED

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian 29 Apr 84 p 12

/Article by Laszlo Dezso: "Was the Dance House Only a Fad?"/

/Text/ As I was about to begin taking a look at folk dance clubs, a journalist friend tried to persuade me to focus on the "curiosities" alone, since he felt the subject had already been "chewed over."

Indeed?

Last summer, I was hired to work at a children's summer camp on the Balaton. I announced to the summer camp director, a person with a minimum of two college degrees, that I was interested in organizing a folk dance night for the children.

"Yes, a dance night," he replied. "Sounds very good. That is something like aerobics, is it not?"

A Little History

Thus, something should perhaps be said about the history of this art form.

The first "new phase" folk dance club was organized in Budapest in 1972. The term "new phase" is used because the folk dance club earlier was a nationwide form of recreation for village youth. The name "dance house" itself originates in Szek. In this Translyvanian village, the ancient folk dances are still performed in traditional folk costumes.

However, the first Budapest folk dance club was strictly a professional, closed folk dance conference under the auspices of the Bihari and Bartok Trade Unions of Municipal and Local Economy Workers.

Beginning in the mid-seventies, the movement was marked by the stardom (and rapid decline?) of the Sebo music ensemble and the Bartok Dance Ensemble.

Sandor Timar, former director of the Bartok group and present director of the State Folk Ensemble, at that time literally recruited his dancers

at local beat clubs. To achieve his goal he even learned to rock and roll, but his students learned the most ancient and most authentic dances from him.

"These rockers were street smart people, but we finally carved excellent folk dancers out of them," he reminisces. Today they organize their own folk dance clubs.

These one-time rockers brought their friends and their girlfriends with them, until finally a serious migration from the rock clubs to the dance clubs began.

Speaking of curiosities, in the past three years--despite the movement's growth to national proportions--only a few folk dance records have been released. At the same time in Eastern Europe and the United States, the Hungarian folk music ensembles' albums are becoming increasingly popular.

"The reason that those concerned with recording refuse to listen to us is always the same. Allegedly, there is no public demand for this music, no one wants it," says Andras Janosi, one of our most outstanding folk dance musicians, who recorded a longer radio program on tour in Sweden with his band than in ten years' operation in Hungary...

Presently, with the exception of Wednesdays, there is an active folk dance club every night in Budapest. The Almassy square recreation center hosts the Teka ensemble on Fridays, Saturdays belong to the Kalamajka ensemble on Molnar Street, and on Sundays the Kamaras ensemble in Jozsefvaros draws the biggest audience. Each club attracts a full house, that is 200-250 people.

Outside the capital, the situation is not nearly as rosy. Only a few cities with particularly active dance groups (Szekesfehervar, Szeged and Pecs, for example) hold dance houses regularly. Fehervar is the most active, where open-air folk dance balls and sidewalk dance clubs are organized with the cooperation of the Fejer County Folk Ensemble.

However, the lack of musicians is a very pressing concern. In a few provincial cities (Jaszbereny, Szeged and Gyor) folk musician training schools have been instituted. Yet this has only temporarily alleviated the problem. The real solution is to raise the training of folk musicians to the college level.

Natives and Foreigners

Our dance clubs are drawing increasing numbers of foreign visitors. Transylvanian Slovakian and Western emigrant Hungarians seek them out. They come and dance eagerly, so that they can take what they have learned and experienced home with them, to relatives, acquaintances and friends. But "native" foreigners come too, Germans, French, Dutch and Belgians.

A Chinese girl named Hedi learned Hungarian on her visits to Budapest, and now dances an excellent Szatmar csardas as well. A few years ago, a young Japanese man travelled through our country and the Hungarian areas outside our borders with a similar goal.

When visiting Szek, one can see on many families' parlor walls illustrated calendars of dancers from Szek, Kalocsa and Mezoseg, with bilingual--English and Japanese--titles.

"The Japanese fellow brought them as gifts," say the Szek families, proudly. "See, he photographed us, too."

According to Sandor Timar, however unbelievable it may seem, more people are familiar with Hungarian dances in Japan than in Hungary.

Passing Fashion or Vital Movement?

More than half of all dance club enthusiasts are members of amateur folk dance ensembles. But many decided to continue their dancing in amateur groups after exposure at a folk dance club.

"Folk dancing is very different from disco, for example. It is a real group experience and the group singing and revival of folk tradition creates a unique atmosphere of friendship," says one loyal fan.

The nationwide publicity for folk dance clubs is also equivalent to zero. The radio, television and press join the recording companies in neglecting this art form. Once annually, on the occasion of the national folk dance convention, the movement is mentioned in a few brief reports. (This year, the convention was held for the third time in the Budapest Sports Center.) Janos Sebok, for example, in his book MAGYA-ROCK writes that in the late seventies, the movement simply disappeared...

The noted author would be surprised if he should happen to wander in on a Friday afternoon among the spirited dancers of the Teka club.

The best dance club in Budapest is hard to choose. In the mid-seventies, the universal answer of the folk club-goers was, "Naturally, the Sebo club!" It had everything: dance and singing instruction, spinning and weaving, atmosphere, invited guests, poets, writers, original dancers, debates, summer camps, outings. Now, after a lull of many years, the Teka ensemble is experimenting with something similar. Each summer, they organize most enjoyable dance camps (most recently in the Orseg), and in the fall they organize day trips and revive the fading ancient traditions of Christmas minstrelsy and Bethlehem pageants.

Teka is not the only group experimenting with novelties. The other folk clubs are also trying to re-engage their standing audiences and recruit new followers. The number of new faces is growing, especially with the increased interest of lively, ambitious high-school students.

"This is an important time," says one long-time devotee. "We will find out soon whether the renaissance of folklore was just a passing fashion or a true, vital movement and a lasting part of our culture."

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STATE OF WORLD COMMUNISM ASSESSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9, 21, 24 Feb 84

[Article by Sylwester Szafarz: "The World Communist Movement on the Threshold of 1984"]

[9 Feb 84 p 6]

[Text] Many events which took place towards the end of 1983 have focused attention on the problems of the world communist movement. One might, for instance, list the following occurrences: the conference of the Central Committee secretaries of the 10 parties of the socialist countries (unfortunately, without the participation of representatives of the Romanian Communist Party), Moscow, 9 December 1983; the 14th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, 18-19 November 1983; the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, 27-28 December 1983; the 10th Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party, Porto, 15-18 December 1983; the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Spain, Madrid, 14-18 December 1983; et al.

The December visit of the leader of the Italian Communist Party, Enrico Berlinguer, to Berlin, Bucharest, and Belgrade, and his talks with leaders of the SED, the RCP and the LCY, have also drawn major attention. Outside of Europe, the activities of the Communist Party of China, in particular of Deng Xiaoping (the publication of his "Collected Works") and of Hu Yaobang, who--inter alia--visited Japan on 23-30 November 1983, should also be mentioned.

All those and similar events provide abundant factual material concerning the problems under consideration, and require analysis and generalization.

From the organizational point of view, the communist movement appears as the largest political and ideological orientation of the contemporary era. Communist and workers parties are at present active in 95 countries throughout all the continents, and have a joint membership of over 78 million. At the same time, the communist movement is actually the only one to have a genuinely universal character; other formations, the Social Democrats for instance (20 million members), suffer from a *sui generis* "Eurocentrism." But, as a matter of fact, ever since the dissolution of the Comintern, the communist movement is the only world movement not to have an International of its own, while other major political and ideological orientations have at their disposal

such organizations, which systematically—though not without serious difficulties--fulfill their coordinating functions.

In the 1970's and in the early 1980's the world communist movement clearly continued to grow. The number of parties regarded as "illegal" has slightly diminished, especially in Central and South America (there were 14 of them in that region). Parties in countries such as Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Panama, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, and Costa Rica have been legalized. Nonetheless, the number of parties operating in the underground still remains considerable, exceeding 20. In Europe only one "illegal" party remains, the Communist Party of Turkey. The growth trend can also be demonstrated by the foundation or rebirth of many parties which had existed in the past: the CP of Malta (1970), the CP of Pakistan (1974), the CP of Saudi Arabia (1975), the CP of Jamaica (1978), the Egyptian CP (1980), the Palestinian CP (1983). In various parts of the world, in so-called Black Africa in particular, the existing left-wing organizations and groups might be about to develop into communist parties.

After the Second World War the issue of the so-called parallel parties has emerged as a complex and delicate problem inside the movement, as two or even several parties, each with the word "communist" in their name, operated in several countries (e.g., in Israel, Greece, Spain, India). At that time the communist movement consistently recognized just one communist party in each country, in some cases creating fundamental and procedural problems. A *sui generis* apogee in abusing and desecrating the term "communist" was reached during that period, due to the external activity of the then Maoist leadership of the Communist Party of China (from the so-called Cultural Revolution on), which tried to establish a "rival" world communist movement under its own aegis. The number (over 100) of the then self-proclaimed "communist parties"--with the added qualifier "Marxist-Leninist"--provoked some elation in Beijing. Those, however, were ephemeral parties, and most of them disappeared as quickly as they had been founded. As a rule, they were never regarded as "parallel parties" *sensu stricto*, but rather as instruments of splitting and disintegrating the movement.

At present, however, the problem of the so-called parallel parties--in the traditional meaning of the term--has apparently ceased to provoke similar problems throughout the world communist movement. While such "double" parties continue to operate, e.g., in Greece, Sweden, Spain and Malaysia, both the Swedish and the Indian parties have been treated on equal terms, in both multilateral and bilateral relations. Other parties "have got used to" this state of affairs, and have accepted it as normal. This has been confirmed by the participation of 2 party delegations from Sweden and India, respectively, at the scholarly conference to celebrate the Marx anniversaries, held in Berlin on 11-16 April 1983, in which representatives of 145 left-wing parties from all over the world took part.

The following table gives a synthetic image of the growth of the world communist movement throughout the entire post-WWII period:

<u>Year</u>	<u>No of parties</u>	<u>No of members</u>
1946	78	20 million
1960	87	35 million
1969	88	50 million
1982	96	78 million

The growth of the world communist movement presents a very uneven picture, depending on various regions, continents, or groups of countries. The best situation in this respect is in the socialist countries, where the biggest and best organized communist parties operate. From the statistical point of view, a special place belongs, naturally, to the Communist Party of China, which has over 40 million members. This is, however, a relatively tiny percentage of the over 1-billion-strong population of the People's Republic of China. The CPSU has at present over 18 million members. Among other parties in the socialist countries, especially in Europe, the more or less 2-million-type party has usually prevailed. In addition to quantitative indices of development, the qualitative components, and in particular the proportion of workers in the total membership, are also of significance. In many cases that proportion is impressive: in the SED, for instance, workers amount to nearly 58 percent, in the CPCZ and in the BCP to about 50 percent each, and in the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, to about 45 percent.

On the other hand, in the capitalist countries the joint membership of communist parties has risen since the international conference of 1969 by over 800,000 people. In that group of parties the most numerous is at present the Italian Communist Party (about 1.7 million members). Next comes the French Communist Party (almost 800,000), the Communist Party of Japan (nearly 450,000), and the Portuguese Communist Party with over 200,600 members (as announced at the recent 10th Congress of the Portuguese CP). In addition, in some capitalist countries there are relatively small communist parties of several thousand party members. Here and there, however, a decrease in the party membership has been registered, due to difficult internal situation of some parties (e.g., the CP of Great Britain, the CP of the Netherlands, the Swiss Party of Labor, or the CP of Spain). In the case of the latter party the decrease is particularly blatant. Shortly after resuming its legal activity--after the collapse of the Franco regime--the PCE had some 250,000 members, while at present it has slightly over 80,000! As is well known, a new communist party has been recently established in that country.

In many capitalist countries the communist parties constitute a considerable political force nationwide, without which managing social and state problems would be inconceivable (for instance, Italy, France, but also Cyprus, Finland, even San Marino). During the period under consideration, the number of voters who support communist party candidates in general or local elections has increased--generally speaking--from some 30 to some 40 million. In different countries communist candidates, however, get different proportions of votes, from 0.9 percent (Switzerland) to some 30 percent (Italy).

Highly differentiated, and in organizational terms difficult, situations obtain in the communist parties of the developing countries of Asia, Africa,

and Latin America. Altogether, they have some 1.1 million members. Despite some progress, they are relatively small in view of the rapid demographic growth in the developing countries (at present each woman bears 5 children on average), and the fact that 92 states emerged on the ruins of colonial empires and their joint population exceeds 50 percent of mankind. The issue of the numerical strength of various communist parties can, however, be understood better if one takes into account some other relevant data. In Asia, for instance, only just over 200 million people belong to the labor force, including some 52 million in industry and transportation (about 26 percent). In Africa just 15 million people are hired labor, including 4 million (that is to say, over 12 percent) in industry and transportation.

The policy of the former Maoist leadership of the Communist Party of China has also contributed fairly strongly to the slowing down of growth and the consolidation of the communist rank and file, especially in Asia. It brought about, inter alia, the split in the Communist Party of Indonesia, once one of the most numerous in the world, which used to have over 4 million members, and later caused the death of several hundred thousand members of the PCI. The party has not yet fully regained its organizational and political strength, and continues to be outlawed in the state. This was one of the worst tragedies of the world communist movement in the post-war period, and can be compared solely with the drama of the Communist Party of Chile and of the Unidad Popular as a whole. Such defeats, however, do not refute the general statement concerning the unprecedented growth of the world communist movement in the recent years.

[21 Feb 84 p 6]

[Text] Inside the world communist movement some interesting phenomena and processes have appeared in the programmatic area, as far as improvement of tactical and strategic premises conforming to the current situation in various countries, regions, and worldwide are concerned, as well as in regard to the needs and challenges brought about by the 21st century. Obviously, any attempt to bring all those premises, relevant to 96 communist parties, to their lowest common denominator would be doomed to failure, and might involve harmful artificiality, as the circumstances under which those parties operate throughout the world are extremely varied.

In order, however, to grasp the scope of the programmatic modifications, one can refer to some generalizing statements formulated in the book "The World Communist Movement," edited by Vadim Zagladin and published in Moscow in 1982: "...in the 1970's the communist and workers parties have accomplished a lot to improve their strategic and tactical premises; this happened--above all--during the deliberations of national congresses and conferences. Between January 1971 and December 1980 (inclusive) 164 congresses and conferences of 66 communist and workers parties in non-socialist countries took place. The fraternal parties in the socialist countries have also held their congresses. During that period 46 communist parties throughout the world modified their programs, or passed new programmatic documents" (p 52).

Any analysis of the most recent programmatic documents of various communist and workers parties in the socialist countries would show that all the posed targets and goals, whether of a strategic or tactical nature, while ambitious, have been also realistic, balanced, and moderate. They clearly contrast with the excessive optimism which sometimes prevailed in the previous decade, and has tainted our party as well. Speaking in the most general terms, it has been assumed that in the 1960's the process of laying the foundations of socialism in the European socialist countries was drawing to an end, just making possible the transition toward the stage of fully developed socialist society. Yuriy Andropov, in his well-known paper "The Teachings of Karl Marx and Some Problems of Socialist Construction in the USSR," wrote on the subject: "The elaboration of the concept of the developed socialist society has been posed by the 26th Congress of the CPSU at the head of our recent accomplishments in the area of Marxist-Leninist theory. Taking this concept as the starting point, the party has defined its strategy and tactics for the upcoming years and for the more distant future, and warned against any possible exaggeration in assessing the degree to which our country has approached the higher stage of communism. All that has allowed us to be more precise and specific in drawing ways and timetables for the implementation of our programmatic targets."

Similarly, one of the fundamental conclusions drawn from the latest crisis in Poland, as well as from the Hungarian events of 1956 and the Czechoslovak events of 1968, concerned the thesis that the occurrence of a crisis situation in a socialist system was not unavoidable. That is why appropriate resolutions have been passed by congresses of various parties in order to improve relations of production and to enhance the leading role of the party. Regardless of difficulties which have actually occurred in all the socialist countries, the thesis concerning the progressive aligning of development levels in various socialist countries, and the growing internationalization of various areas of activity in those countries, remains valid. For that reason, the parties in the socialist countries attach major importance to the growing economic integration: they assume that at present productive processes cannot be stepped up without improved division of labor, or specialization and cooperation in production, between various socialist countries. These countries turn out one-third of world production, and one-quarter of world national income; they cover over 26 percent of the world area, and their population amounts to one-third of mankind.

An important strategic direction and a fundamental programmatic target concern the use of scientific and technical progress for the fulfillment of socioeconomic goals. Those problems have been particularly stressed, inter alia, in the German Democratic Republic within the framework of integrated economic strategy, which consists essentially of achieving maximum growth of productive and—generally speaking—economic capacity by implementing the accomplishments of scientific and technical progress. It is a major task for the socialist community as a whole, in particular as a certain lagging behind the world vanguard has been registered in the area of so-called robotization, computerization of production processes, etc. The stakes in the economic competition are very high. As a matter of fact, survival, development, as well as future prospects of socialism as a system, are at stake here.

At the same time, the parties in the socialist countries attach major importance to enhanced principles and mechanisms of socialist democracy. Special attention has been paid to abiding by the rules of social justice, to merciless fight against harmful negligence and shortcomings, against all occurrences of social pathology, corruption, and wastefulness. All party programs consider social policies to be of prime importance, including, above all, the growth of housing construction. During the past 5-year plan (1976-1980) nearly 15 million apartments were built in the CEMA countries, but that is still not enough.

Generally speaking, an analysis of the programmatic premises of the above-mentioned parties leads to the conclusion that the new tasks cannot be accomplished by old methods.

The programs and the practical activity of communist parties in the capitalist countries are derived from the political and socioeconomic context within which those parties operate, and in particular from the effects of the crisis of capitalism. One of its forms is the over 35-million-strong army of the unemployed, and the underutilization--by 30 percent--of the productive capacities in the developed countries.

Generally speaking, communist parties in the capitalist countries provide in their programs for two main stages of the revolutionary process: the democratic stage and the socialist stage. The stages would be separated by a transition period of so-called antimonopolistic democracy, when the contradictions between the nation, the working people, and the monopolies would be essentially solved. Most interesting programs for the antimonopolistic democracy have been elaborated, in particular, by the communist parties of Austria, Denmark, Greece, the Federal Republic of Germany, Sweden, and others. Some parties in the above-mentioned group of countries have attempted to carry out their programmatic premises by means of--*inter alia*--"Eurocommunist" experiments, attempts to participate in the so-called "Euro-left," etc., but in most cases they were forced to give it up. Not once did "Eurocommunism" pass the test; on the contrary, it inflicted major damage on some parties, for instance, on the CP of Spain.

The programmatic premises of the Italian Communist Party, which is trying to implement the so-called genuinely democratic road to socialism, provide a special case within this group of parties. A characteristic feature of the strategic line of the Italian CP are its relatively frequent modifications. After the Chilean events, for instance, it was dubbed an "historical compromise." Later, at the 15th Congress, the concept of a "third road" to socialism was proclaimed, but by now it has given way to a strategy of "democratic alternative." Up till now, none of these concepts has been implemented, even though the Italian CP disposes of considerable strength and influence in society. Perhaps it prefers to remain in the opposition, playing the *de facto* role of a "co-ruling oppositional party." Moreover, the Italian CP rejects in principle all "models" of socialism, for years it has fought against imaginary "leading centers" in the world communist movement; it has demonstrated ostentatiously its "independence," and even bloody-mindedness,

in its relationship with other parties, especially from the socialist countries. One expression of this attitude involves the groundless thesis of the Italian CP concerning the "exhaustion of the revolutionary potential of the Great October," with the simultaneous underscoring of the "special" character of relations between the Italian CP and the Communist Party of China, as well as "lecturing" other parties, for instance, the Communist Party of Vietnam or the PZPR. In the approach of the Italian CP to the recent development of events in Poland a certain dose of prejudice--sometimes hard to explain--has been visible. It is to be expected that it has been but a transient phenomenon, and that the relations between the Italian CP and the PZPR might soon revert to the glorious traditions of cooperation, derived from the post-war period. This would be in accord with the interests of both parties and of the entire movement, in particular as far as Europe is concerned.

The relatively greatest differentiation of strategic and tactical programs appears within the group of communist parties in the developing countries. In South America those parties that operate in states which have attained an average level of advanced economic development (such as Venezuela or Mexico) carry out concepts of leftist blocs, whose long-term goal envisages the establishment of a strong opposition, a leftist formation similar to the one that 10 years ago had emerged in Chile. In more backward countries the communist parties have accepted the formula of broad alliances and coalitions, aimed at the overthrow of their reactionary, right-wing, sometimes fascistoid governments. The idea behind such coalitions involves the transformation of antidictatorship and antifascist sentiments and trends into a revolutionary process directed against the big landowners, latifundists, oligarchies, etc. Those parties have drawn some far-reaching conclusions from the Chilean tragedy. The most significant of these conclusions concerns the fact that "the revolution must be able to defend itself." In addition, they point out the need for genuine unity of all the working class parties, for accepting a common program and tactical and strategic premises which should be consistently implemented. Finally, in some countries the parties carry out advanced revolutionary changes. That has happened in Granada, that is being done in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

Most of the communist parties in Asia and Africa carry out their programs for the transitional period, that is to say, the national-democratic revolution. The socioeconomic issues, primarily related to overcoming the relics of colonial rule and of backward social structures which slow down progress, are put at the top of the agenda of party goals.

It was actually in Asia and in Africa that recent years have brought about the unprecedented acceleration of the revolutionary process. This has found its material and political expression in the establishment of many (over 20) socialist-oriented states, whose common characteristic feature is joining the road of progressive development while skipping the capitalist stage. On the contemporary scene, this is a phenomenon of unique significance in the development of the world revolutionary process. The regional conference of the communist parties of tropical Africa, held in 1978, concluded that the conditions for other countries of the continent for following the tracks of socialist orientation were about to mature.

All this indicates that some important, interesting attempts are being made throughout the movement in order to modify the programmatic premises, as well as the strategy and the tactics, and to make them conform to the present and future needs of the parties.

[24 Feb 84 p 6]

[Text] In various communist parties all over the world there has been further differentiation of conditions, as well as of methods and instruments of action. But the external circumstances under which such programs and strategic or long-term targets are being carried out have also been more complex.

Vadim Zagladin has assessed those issues and difficulties as follows: "... the obstacles and the difficulties which bar the fighting path of the communists have always existed, and will continue to exist forever. Such a mental conclusion by no means equals pessimism. It is simply a matter-of-fact statement, which reflects the realistic state of affairs. The crux of the matter is, above all, that the communists constitute the most powerful revolutionary component in contemporary society. And if so, they cannot fail to meet the strongest and most relentless resistance on the part of forces of the old world of exploitation. The communists, moreover, are essentially pioneers, the first to blaze new trails... obviously they are under the incessant fire of the class enemy. Finally, the communists (like, after all, any political force which is, or intends to be, the vanguard) are just a major or minor part of the overall forces, in this case of the popular masses. Such part is never actually separated by some kind of Wall of China from other parts, from the society as a whole and its life. It is therefore natural that the communists do not alone influence society, but are themselves submitted to a certain influence, by no means unambiguous, by other parts of society--for instance, by major strata, petty bourgeois in their essence. All that, taken together, cannot fail to have an impact on the communist activity and posture..." (NOWE DROGI, No 1/1983).

The analysis presented above also indicates that--despite everything--many "common denominators" appear in the programs and in the everyday activities of the parties. They include, above all, the need to enhance internationalist unity and solidarity, as well as the fight for peace, against war, and in particular against nuclear holocaust.

Let us start with the need for unity. It is no secret that not only within various parties, but in the communist movement as a whole, the degree of unity and effectiveness is neither sufficient nor adequate to the current needs.

The international development and the aggressive activity of the anticomunist centers, which are steadily improving the coordination of their efforts, enhance the need for stronger unity and cohesiveness of all the communist parties. It is a condition sine qua non for the successful development of the entire movement. By reason and by instinct, the need to enhance such internationalist unity and solidarity is felt and understood throughout the movement; it is the practical implementation of those tasks which lags behind.

Under the existing circumstances the principle of proletarian internationalism assumes particular importance. All attempts to experiment with this principle, to search for some kind of "new internationalism," etc., have failed. At present, the new significant quality in the approach to internationalism involves considerable broadening of the social and geographic framework, within which this cardinal principle of the communist movement prevails. The contents of internationalism and the forms of its occurrence are being increasingly enriched. But, regardless of such qualitative changes, the inner core of internationalism—solidarity and cooperation—remains the same. Enhancing the solidarity with parties and peoples of the socialist countries is at present of particular importance, because it is they who demonstrate, day in, and day out, their solidarity and support for all the forces of progress and peace throughout the world.

A peculiar situation has obtained in connection with the essential term of multilateral cooperation of parties, represented by international and regional conferences. Within the movement opinions have been voiced recently concerning the allegedly "obsolete" character of such forms of cooperation, their ponderousness (time-consuming, meticulous preparations) and inadequacy for present-day needs and requirements. But the critics have, as a rule, come up with no alternative proposal, save for a statement that there can be no return to the Comintern. It is well known that the last international (world) conference of 75 communist and workers parties of the world took place in Moscow on 5-17 June 1969. It played a major role in the development of the revolutionary movement and process. Its conclusions are still valid. But a lot has changed since then throughout the world and the movement, and this should be taken into account both in the theoretical and in the practical areas of communist parties' activity.

It is no wonder, therefore, that proposals for convening a new international conference occur again and again. More than 60 parties have supported the idea. But no conference has taken place yet, due to refusal by a few parties—in this case consensus (agreement) is required, and in this respect there can be no vote and no division into a "majority" and a "minority." Those communist parties that have accepted the need for an international conference are faced with a serious dilemma: what is preferable, no conference or one with narrower participation? There has been as yet no solution to the dilemma, even though there is a certain awareness of how paradoxical is a situation in which a few parties can de facto impose their point of view on other parties, and thus thwart their will. But dealing realistically with the problem, and admitting the inconvenience caused by lack of an international conference, one has to admit that to convene one "by hook or by crook" would miss the point. Conditions must be allowed to ripen in order to allow those parties that do intend to take part in the conference to express their acceptance and to safeguard its democratic premises and methods of procedure. It will take some time, therefore, until such conditions reach maturity. Under such circumstances, other forms of multilateral meetings, such as the scholarly conference of 145 left-wing parties from all over the world held in Berlin in 1983 to mark the Marx anniversaries, assume special significance.

Stronger unity is, in turn, a necessary condition for the implementation of another priority target of the movement--the defense of peace and saving humanity from nuclear holocaust.

Parties from all over the world, in particular those in the socialist countries, therefore make serious efforts to secure peace, disarmament, and cooperation, such as the conference of secretaries of the Central Committees, the Prague Declaration of January 1983, etc. An essential role in maintaining peace devolves upon Soviet initiatives and actions, from the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence through the Peace Program of the 25th and 26th congresses of the CPSU, up to the most recent peace and disarmament initiatives and proposals, concerning, in particular, the inadmissibility of nuclear warfare, abolition of chemical weapons, the European security, etc. Peaceful and antiwar motifs are forcefully underscored in the statements by Konstantin Chernenko, secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee.

Similar problems assume prime importance in the activities of the PZPR. An appeal voted by the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee states: "... insane attempts to push the world to the brink of an atomic catastrophe must be opposed by the unity of our nation in its fight to maintain peace... In the contemporary world there is no more important division than that which opposes the threat of nuclear force by love of life, peaceful development of man and nations, free from fear of atomic devastation." Another forceful expression of this philosophy and strategy of peace appears in the appeal of three German parties, the SED, the SEW (West Berlin) and the DKP. They warn against the danger of an outbreak of a new world war "from German soil, from the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany," in case of continued deployment of American nuclear missiles in that country. The communist movement provides many similar examples of determination and peaceful intention.

But there are also some disturbing occurrences. They certainly include some aspects of the so-called policy of equidistance in relation to the Warsaw Treaty and to NATO; they are featured in the approach of certain parties which equally blame the two blocs and hold them equally responsible for the ongoing arms race and for the growing tension and threat of war. The inadequate--compared to the needs--initiative and activity of some communist parties within the antiwar, and in particular the antinuclear movement are also unfortunate. While it is true that communists are active within this movement and show great dedication, they do not always assume leading positions or determine its orientation. We are faced here with a somewhat different situation compared, for instance, with the period of fight against nuclear weapons, or against the American aggression in Vietnam. The order of the day, therefore, is the question of fully exploiting the whole potential of the communist peace movement, of all the antiwar forces, especially of all the working people organized in the Social Democratic and Christian Democratic parties, against war and nuclear holocaust.

The presented balance-sheet of assets and liabilities of the movement, of its achievements and difficulties, is not exhaustive but fairly expressive and convincing. There is no need for arguments; a touch of objectivity will suffice to show that the balance-sheet is on the whole positive, regardless of

growing internal and external difficulties or anticommunist threats. This balance-sheet unambiguously refutes the claims concerning the "twilight of communism." Such claims should be treated solely in terms of "wishful thinking." Some people, obviously, would prefer to substitute reality for their wishes, but they lack both the strength and the ability to accomplish that. One has to be, after all, a realist, even if one is an anticommunist!

The acute confrontation and the global ideological fight under the banner of the anticommunist "crusade" proclaimed in 1982 by Ronald Reagan enhance the importance and the vitality of the fundamental principles of the world communist movement, of Marxism-Leninism, and of proletarian internationalism. The defense and the creative development of those principles proceed naturally, in a situation incomparably more difficult than ever before in the entire history of the movement. As recent experience has clearly demonstrated, those principles guarantee a successful march forward, overcoming difficulties and weaknesses, and implementing the historic mission of the world communist movement--maintaining peace, saving human civilization and social progress all over the world. In short, they guarantee the implementation of the crucial triad of targets: unity--peace--progress.

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